New Republic

MAY 17 1948

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FELLOW AMERICANS!

How many times have you said, "He's got a right to his opinion—it's a free country, isn't it?""

Overnight, a free country can become a police state. The "little" steps by which a people is robbed of its freedom carry a nation to the brink of the precipice. Then comes the last *big* step—the step into fascism.

Today our country is being pushed to that last big step. The bi-partisan House Un-American Committee has called on Congress to set up the police state blueprinted by Wall Street. The Mundt bill, H. R. 5852, is the signal that the most extreme forces of reaction are stepping up monopoly's drive toward World War III by making a desperate bid for fascist power.

Our people hate war and fascism. When they realize what this bill means, they will rise in their wrath to defeat it. But they must grasp its meaning and act quickly—for the forces of fascism and war are out to blitz this measure through Congress.

This bill strikes at the living standards and democratic rights of all Americans—on the pretext of "saving" them from the Communists. This is a bill so evil that no differences of opinion on any other issue can divide those who agree that the Bill of Rights must be saved.

The so-called "Subversive Control Act of 1948" is as arrogantly scornful of the Constitution as the Committee that spawned it. It would nullify the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech, thought and association. It would flagrantly violate the Fifth and Eighth Amendments. It is a bill of attainder, singling out special groups and individuals for punishment.

This bill would suspend the right of habeas corpus, and set up concentration camps for the foreign-born. Citizenship would no longer be the inalienable right of the American-born. *You* could be robbed of your citizenship at the whim of a bigotted official who held you guilty of "crime" under this monstrous bill.

The Mundt bill would put Hitler's Big Lie on the statute books. It would jail Communist Party leaders, and any progressive described as a Communist. It would make it a crime to advocate socialism, or, for that matter, any social progress. Although the Communist Party is an American working-class party, and Americans have been studying and teaching the science of Marxism for a hundred years—this bill would decree that Communism shall be held a "criminal conspiracy" and all advocacy of its immediate or long-range objectives forbidden.

On the basis of this legislated lie, the Mundt bill would outlaw the Communist Party. It would demand that the Communist Party "register" and turn over the names of its individual members to the FBI. Every progressive organization, and certainly a working-class party, will fight to the last ditch against such a fascist blacklist and will defend democracy by refusing to register and expose its members to persecution.

The Mundt bill would similarly outlaw the "Communist front" organizations already on Tom Clark's "verboten" list—and extend that list until even the most mildly liberal groups were outlawed.

The Subversive Act of 1948 would carry further the wrecking of the trade unions, begun by the Taft-Hartley law It would give legal status to the Big Lie long used as a strike-breaking weapon by the open-shop employers. Under this bill, any strike in any industry could be punished as a "criminal conspiracy."

The Mundt-Rankin bill would whip up a nation-wide lynching bee against the Negro people. It would make it a crime to support such immediate objectives of the Communists and of non-Communist progressives as a federal anti-lynching law, repeal of the poll-tax, FEPC., or the abolition of jim-crow in army and civilian life.

This long step to fascism would be a long, long step to World War III. It seeks to outlaw the growing people's peace movement. It would strike a serious blow at the new people's party headed by Wallace and Taylor. It is a bill to steal the 1948 elections for Wall Street and the warmongers.

Fellow Americans! This is the zero hour. However we may differ among ourselves—about the Marshall Plan, or the two-party system, or America's future—we must act together now, or tomorrow we shall no longer be free to express our disagreements.

This is the hour for anti-fascist unity—for the united action of labor and all democrats, regardless of their political beliefs. We Communists are going to fight the Mundt bill with all we've got. But only if all who cherish democracy also get into this fight can democracy and peace be saved.

The American people have the strength, and still have the time, to defeat this police-state bill. But we must act together—and act *now*. Let us not, like the German people, be forced to forge our unity in the night of fascist terror, and fight for our freedom underground

Let every liberty-loving individual, every worker, speak to his Congressman! Let every trade union and people's organization muster its full strength and make it felt! Let Congress hear the people demand with one voice: The Mundt bill shall not pass!

WM. Z. FOSTER, *Chairman*

EUGENE DENNIS, *General Secretary*

COMMUNIST PARTY

35 East 12th Street **New York 3, N. Y.**

I enclose $_____ to help you fight the Mundt bill.

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WASHINGTON WIRE

LET US FRANKLY AGREE that some of the worst things we expect in Washington don't happen. But as of the moment we confess that this is our candid estimate of what's ahead in one field. We think the GOP will have the biggest campaign chest in history. We expect every big corporation, every vested interest, to come forward with its hope offering. They will be buying a share of the new Republican administration. The fund will be bigger than Harding's. We don't know who the lucky nominee will be—maybe Vandenberg. Whoever he is, he will almost certainly be elected. And after that—normalcy, perhaps eight years of it.

This means that 1949 will be something to watch. Indeed, the big interests, with a mortgage on the party, are already moving in. The thing that holds them in partial check right now is, oddly enough, a funny little man in the White House, Harry Truman. He still has the veto power. That's why a lot of things are being postponed one year—to 1949.

But there is already a happy aura of forthcoming GOP victory. The isolated attacks at exposed points are being succeeded by assaults on whole salients; the regulatory system in major federal fields is threatening to give way to strong pressure. If it's like this already, what will it be next year?

Let's check off a few items quite at random.

1. Opponents of the TVA have come right out in the open; it's no longer sniping but direct frontal assault.

2. The House has passed the Moore-Rizley bill weakening control of natural gas; this measure would toss $56 million to 11 companies alone, the Federal Power Commission estimates.

3. Congress is getting ready to turn the huge national asset of tidelands oil over to soft regulation by the individual states.

4. As Marquis Childs points out, grazing interests in Western states are ceaselessly attacking regulations essential to prevent new dust bowls.

5. Congress has, in the name of "economy," just voted to abolish the Commerce Department's Office of Small Business.

6. A campaign has started against the Federal Trade Commission—a thing that wouldn't have seemed possible five years ago.

7. The law providing staggered appointments for the five-man Atomic Energy Commission will probably be abrogated to oust Lilienthal, protector of national interests.

8. Social security is on the defensive; Congress just took one bite out of over-all coverage, and now the House proposes to cut no less than 93 percent off the budget estimate of what's needed to run the Social Security Commission office. (This cut is so drastic, says the Washington *Post*, as to threaten "disintegration.")

These things are happening already, but wait for 1949. Personally, we can feel in our bones a new Hawley-Smoot tariff law taking shape.

Opposite the White House is a brand-new office building whose every suite was rented before excavation began. Here sits Paul Hoffman, running ERP. Across the way is the US Chamber of Commerce, and down the street is the Carnegie Peace headquarters, and we guess the juxtaposition is symbolic. Global plans are discussed while hydraulic drills ring. Wisps of asbestos drift down from the new soundproofed ceilings of the conference rooms like architectural dandruff. There aren't enough chairs for these first press conferences and reporters are lucky to bag an up-turned waste basket.

All America, it seems, is applying

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I. F. STONE REPORTS FROM PALESTINE!

Exclusive Feature Articles Begin in New Republic May 31

As you read this, I. F. Stone—noted American newspaper correspondent—is in Palestine gathering first-hand information for a series of articles to be published *exclusively* in New Republic. Stone will report the scenes of the birth of the Jewish nation; he will describe life under fire in Jewish settlements; he will interview Arab leaders and analyze the plans of Haganah.

New Republic is the ONLY national magazine offering its readers such a sensational series of feature articles! They begin with the issue of May 31. To make sure you get all the Stone reports direct from the Palestine battlefield—starting with the 31st issue—sign and mail coupon below today. It brings you the next 17 weeks of New Republic for only $2.

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for Economic Coöperation Administration jobs. In a restless stir of queries, microphones, electric turntables and wire recorders, reporters ask Hoffman and his aides their world views. Well, we note that the air-conditioned offices are equipped with "Trane Climate Changers." We hope this is a lucky omen for a cooler world atmosphere.

Practically unnoticed by everybody but able Rodney Crowther of the Baltimore *Sun*, the four-man advisory committee of nationally known tax experts has just told Congress that the Internal Revenue Bureau is starved, that taxpayer compliance is "deteriorating at a dangerous rate," and what vast sums are being lost through simple lack of law enforcement. Congress picked this tax committee itself, to look into the matter in its dispute with the President.

Truman, you remember, said that Taber "economy" of $20 million in enforcement would cost the Treasury $400 million in collections. The committee report substantially supports this. The report notes that Britain is hiring as many men as does our Bureau, to collect one-quarter as much income. Incidentally, simple lack of tax enforcement is as great a boon to the rich as cutting taxes directly. Today only about three percent of tax returns are checked, the report warns Congress, and unless something is done, and quickly, "a vast sum of tax revenue will be lost."

Notes: This column was caught short on the Ohio Stassen-Taft primary; Stassen got a victory, but we predicted a bigger one. . . . The new president of Columbia University seems extraordinarily thin-skinned on political matters, which makes us wonder whether Ike would really make a good President after all. His private conversation shows him to be politically rather naïve. . . . Peacetime lend-lease seems inevitable, so far as we can judge. . . . Truman is going out to show himself to the voters as we predicted; his renomination is now virtually assured if he wants it.

Washington T. R. B.

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VOLUME 118, NUMBER 20, ISSUE 1746, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 17, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

THE MORE IT CHANGES

Mrs. Clara Reynolds, of White Pine, Tennessee, woke up the other day after a 12-year sleep (she had encephalitis) and the newspapers have been having themselves quite a time telling of the changes in the world while she has been napping. We're not so sure, though. Just for curiosity, we looked up what was going on twelve years ago this week, and came up with a fistful of items.

Another small country had just gone behind the Iron Curtain. (It was Ethiopia, and the curtain was Mussolini's.) The nations were in the middle of an arms race, whose highlight at the moment was Britain's new naval base at Singapore. There were signs of trouble in Spain. An amateur contender for the Republican presidential nomination was forging ahead against the opposition of most of the party bosses (it was Alf Landon).

A coal strike had just been settled, on terms favorable to everyone but the users of coal. A new third party was looming in the state of Washington, named the Commonwealth Federation. The Hollywood producers were fighting their writers, who had banded in the Screen Writers' Guild. Television, it was announced that week, was coming up fast.

Liberals were indignant because Negro members of the American Library Association, meeting in Richmond, Virginia, were barred from eating with the white members. (Meals were served in the convention hall, and the Negroes had to rise and leave as soon as they smelled the incoming food.) Traffic congestion was a subject of much discussion. It was generally agreed that the younger generation was going to hell fast. Everybody seemed to feel that a spiritual rebirth was imperatively necessary, and at once. Come right in, Mrs. Reynolds. Make yourself at home.

ANSWER TO THE GENTLEMEN

The essence of the Supreme Court's momentous decision on restrictive real-estate covenants is a reaffirmation of the basic principle that the law can't be used as a weapon to deprive Americans, regardless of their color, creed or social condition, of equality of opportunity. The 6-0 decision applied specifically to houses in Detroit, St. Louis and Washington, but it will affect thousands of communities throughout the country, giving help and comfort to those fighting for the preservation and extension of civil rights.

Argued almost entirely by Negro lawyers, the case is the first major one they have won for themselves before the Supreme Court. By the terms of the opinion read by Chief Justice Vinson, restrictive real-estate covenants may be made only as private "gentleman's agreements" but can't be enforced by the laws either of the separate states or of the federal government. Thus, these covenants don't automatically go out of existence. They are banned only when one or another party appeals against a legal effort to enforce them.

NEUWIRTH

Restrictive covenants, the court ruled, are not consistent with the public policy of this country and are contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment. Whatever else the authors of the Constitution and its amendments sought to achieve, Justice Vinson said, it was clear that the matter of primary concern was the establishment of equality in the enjoyment of basic civil and political rights, and the preservation of those rights from discriminatory action by the states.

Originating in Reconstruction days, racial segregation has led to restrictive covenants now aimed at Negroes and Mexicans, at Japanese and Chinese, at Jews, Syrians and Armenians—and even American Indians. These covenants, the attorneys who argued the case pointed out, were a hangover from the days when it was still a criminal offense to teach a free Negro to read or write.

Sponsors of the covenants—land-development companies, real-estate boards, finance agencies and improvement associations—warned that a change in the present system would decrease the value of property worth many millions of dollars. Their opponents replied that under the present system millions of citizens are forced to live in miserable housing districts where juvenile delinquency, disease and prostitution spawn. They offered the results of a recent survey showing that 40,000 Negroes in Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit and Cleveland lived doubled up or as boarders with other

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families. In Baltimore, the Negroes who make up 20 percent of the population occupied less than five percent of its residential area. In five cities, 17.9 percent of the houses occupied by non-whites needed major repairs as compared with 5.9 percent of all homes.

In an eloquent dissent from a previous US Court of Appeals decision, upholding one of the covenant cases, Justice Henry White Edgerton said, "Suits like these and the ghetto system they enforce are among our most conspicuous failures to live together in peace."

The Supreme Court agreed with him.

TO BYPASS CONSCRIPTION

How to get more men into uniform is a problem neither Congress nor the armed services has yet solved. The moribund UMT bill and pending draft proposals are the methods most favored by the Pentagon, but Congress is none too happy about the political dangers of conscription.

So Representative Leo Allen (R, Ill.) has come up with an alternative which might get Congress off the hook. The purpose of his bill is to make Army service more attractive and to reform recruiting procedures.

Allen suspects the Army of willfully neglecting its own recruiting program so that the manpower deficiency will influence Congress in favor of UMT and/or the draft. His bill would turn recruiting over to civilian boards composed of ministers, city officials and other local leaders. Acting on Army advice, the civilians would try to persuade young men to regard military service as a civic responsibility. As a more tangible reward, a $1,000 bonus would be paid at the end of each two-year enlistment, and $1,500 after three years.

Allen admits he has put up a trial balloon. If he gets grass-roots support from the country and favorable reactions around the Capitol, he intends to press his bill as an alternative to the conscription measures now under consideration. His position as chairman of the House Rules Committee is a powerful one. Already his committee is keeping UMT bottled up, and is casting sour looks at the Senate compromise which calls for a one-year draft of 18-year-olds and two-year service for men between 19 and a half and 25.

The GOP schedule calls for debate on military manpower to begin about May 17. By then Allen may have mustered considerable support for his idea.

INFLATION WARNINGS

Congress and President Truman are closer to agreement on the problem of inflation than they have been at any time since the end of the war. Dr. Charles O. Hardy, Staff Director of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee—usually at odds with the White House—last week predicted an inflationary rise for the next eight months. This was substantially what the President's Council of Economic Advisers had been saying for some time.

Although there are some dissenting voices, what has brought most economists around to this point of view is an awesome array of high-powered inflationary fuel:

1. The European Recovery Program, which would bolster the export market and cut down domestic supplies.

2. Taking from the labor market almost a million men and women, required for handling the projected $3 billion additional military program.

3. State bonuses of $1.5 billion for veterans.

4. The tax cut.

5. Some wage increases.

6. Increased profits which are going either into increased spending for consumer goods—largely luxuries—or into capital expansion. (A study by the Commerce Department shows that capital-goods expenditures would reach $18.7 billion this year, $2.5 billion more than in 1947. Most significant is their revelation that much of this is going, not into new manufacturing plant or equipment, but into replacing worn-out machinery, to produce approximately the same amount of goods.)

7. The probability of government deficit-spending by 1949 which would further expand the spendable funds in circulation.

LOYALTY AND SCIENCE

The Federation of American Scientists has received many letters from biologists, chemists, engineers and physicists who cannot find out why they have been refused clearance by public and private laboratories. The Federation therefore decided to investigate the loyalty procedures used in various fields. Many of the letters contain lengthy passages reporting the scientist's belief in democracy and his frustration at being unable to speak in his own behalf.

The Federation's Committee on Secrecy and Clearance last fall sent ques-

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Political Tobacco

IN ADVERTISING as in propaganda, words are "good" or "bad" depending on the feelings aroused by the associations to them. "English" has been a "good" word and Philip Morris has labeled its cigarettes "English Blend." But, according to *Tide*, the phrase is soon to become "Special Blend." Sales of the brand have tended to slump in areas where opposition to British policy is strong. Similar changes, says *Tide*, probably will be made before long in other branded products for the same reason.

Live News

THE COLD WAR between West and East rages hotly in the columns of the Berlin newspapers. Soviet-licensed and Anglo-American-licensed papers vie ceaselessly for the interest and support of Berliners. Recently the US-sponsored RIAS radio took a poll on what people read in the papers. A majority, according to the British-licensed *Der Telegraf*, said the stamp columns were the favorite reading. Many Berliners said they read only the stamp columns because everything else "was just lies anyhow."

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PALESTINE'S SLOW AGONY

I. THE WORD WAR

THE United States Government has seemed to show a species of childish delight at the array of possible solutions for Palestine. Yesterday partition was the nicest toy. Suddenly trusteeship seemed better. Then we turned to the short-term caretaker government. Whatever the appearance may be, however, this is no childish game. Hard purpose is involved.

Two weeks before its Palestine mandate was to end, Britain sent more troops and equipment into the area, presumably to prevent a full-scale war, at least before May 15. At the same time, the British spokesman at Lake Success suggested an alternative to the unworkable US trusteeship proposal—a truce, if possible, and a neutral commission to serve both Jews and Arabs by handling certain administrative essentials after the British leave.

The significant fact is that the British sent the reinforcements to Palestine precisely when Haganah had things temporarily under control. On-the-spot reports say the troops were sent to head off a threatened Arab invasion led by King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan. But the British are on friendly terms with the Arabs, especially with Abdullah, whose army was made for him by the British. And it is most unlikely that the Arabs, eager to keep the help and comfort of their good friends in London, would really start trouble with the British armed forces.

The obvious conclusion is that the British troops, sent to protect British lives and property, would—and as part of the plan—halt temporarily the Haganah advances. The British proposal to the UN fitted in with this end. It was a warmed-over version of a previous State Department idea.

Since Colonial Secretary Creech-Jones made his proposal, French delegate Alexandre Parodi has come up with a similar scheme. They are essentially anti-partition devices, and if the pro-partition bloc in the Assembly stuck together it could defeat them. But Australia, New Zealand, the Scandinavian countries and a few other members might weaken.

The US delegation backs the new scheme. Since we reneged on partition, our policy has been directed by oil interests and by a desire to keep the Soviet Union out of the Middle East at any cost. In the light of this, the appointment of General John H. Hilldring to the UN delegation was a farce. Though the General is personally a strong supporter of partition, he took the job reluctantly on Secretary Marshall's insistence, knowing there was no hope of reviving partition. When Hilldring lost to Defense Secretary James Forrestal and State Department's anti-Soviet Loy Henderson, it was plain that the US was stalling for time.

The truth is that partition on the scene in Palestine is an accomplished fact, and no US resolution can change it. But time may. Time allows the US and Britain to continue to help the Arabs, and stand in the way of the embattled Jews. Time may win a war for the Arabs, and time plus pro-Arab British reinforcements may destroy or seriously disrupt a Jewish state already in being. Finally, it may force a compromise which, at the expense of the Jews, will keep the Arabs, the State Department and, above all, the oil companies on the best of terms. In the UN the State Department rules, despite the outright opposition of more than one-third of the UN membership.

II. THE SHOOTING WAR

WHEN the United Nations put forth its Palestine partition scheme last November, the apparently crazy-quilt allotment of territories to Arabs and Jews had a clear military meaning. Both sides would have to find some means of living together in order to live at all, for each was given areas through which the other's essential lines of communications ran.

The strategic purpose of the Arabs in the armed conflict—in so far as they have a strategy—has been to prove that the Jews cannot exist except on the terms granted to them. In reality, all the Arab operations thus far have been conducted in an atmosphere of military anarchy strikingly reminiscent of T. E. Lawrence, who left the main Turkish railroad line working, "but only barely working," to promote dispersion of the forces opposed to him.

The Arab League "armies" are following a similar course, less because of planned strategy than because of ineffective discipline and mutual jealousies among leaders. During the period when Irgun, the Stern group and, to a certain extent, Haganah, were fighting the British, their operations were conducted on much the same lines. The first Jewish necessity was to get the Jerusalem roads open and food into the city. During April they succeeded in whittling down the Arab forces along the roads to such a degree that there is little danger to a well-guarded convoy.

Now they are after the seaports, the only points through which they can be supplied and supported, hoping to gain control of them before the British evacuate and full-scale war begins.

It is important to remember that all the fighting in Palestine so far has been on a guerrilla level which can hardly be discussed in ordinary military terms. Armies appear and disappear overnight, with a good many of the soldiers living at home. The casualties in the heaviest battles yet fought have been less than five percent. The biggest guns in action have been a couple of Arab 14-pounders, and though an Egyptian armored division was reported on the move, nobody has actually seen anything more formidable than an armored car that would be a setup for a 50-caliber machine gun.

The only decision at present being reached is preliminary. Lines on which the real struggle will take place are now being drawn.

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tionnaires to 140 laboratories. Nine went to groups under the Atomic Energy Commission, of which three were answered. Twenty-five went to laboratories run by the armed forces, of which four were answered. Other government laboratories, and those run by industry and universities, had a better record. In all, 106 replied.

In the case of the AEC, the FAS found that many scientists, alarmed by the witch-hunting atmosphere, are considering leaving. Many others sought by the AEC hesitate to accept. "The atmosphere of fear and uncertainty," the FAS reported, "engendered by occasional unfounded clearance charges, may cause many scientists to withdraw entirely from any type of civic responsibility."

The armed forces have made an especially poor showing. The FAS charged that often scientists dismissed by the Army, Navy and Air Force have been unable to get a statement of charges, as the law requires. Often a man has been charged with nothing more than membership in a liberal organization. Scientists have been urged to resign without asking for a hearing, under threat of a "bad record," if they persisted. Scientists cleared for highly secret work during the war have recently been refused clearance, and new employees have been put off pending complete investigation, which never came about.

PROPAGANDA PRICE CUTS

It has never happened before. Never in the midst of high-flying inflation, and the danger of still more, has business been willing—or able—to engineer an over-all cut in the price level. If the much ballyhooed price reductions of US Steel were actually to spread to other major heavy-goods producers, and from there to consumer goods, many economists would have to rewrite their theories on how the price mechanism works or doesn't work in a free capitalism.

At this point it looks to many acute observers as if the price cutting were an anti-wage-increase fanfare rather than a solid basis for revision of economic thinking. Following the steel cut, GE and Westinghouse shaved prices on some goods. National Steel cut tin-plate prices. Mojud Hosiery lowered prices on nylons. Lee cut the price of de-luxe tires by 15 percent.

But there are at least as many, and probably more important, price increases. New-model talk in the automobile industry suggests that prices are still on the upgrade. Philco has boosted its television sets $10. Lead and zinc are kiting back to wartime levels, paint following close behind. Transportation charges are going up: ocean freight on both Atlantic and Pacific runs mounted last week from 15 to 25 percent.

Nevertheless, big companies are invoking price cuts as a major weapon against labor's third round of wage demands. Steel has done it frankly, other industries—Chrysler for example—only by implication. Rebuffing a wage demand, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company's long-lines department says the company "is reluctant to take any steps that might contribute to the inflationary spiral."

Moreover, industry negotiators who long refused to match rises in the cost-of-living index with wage increases, are now using the index against wage demands. But a drop in the Bureau of Labor Statistics index in March of one point below the January figure was accounted for entirely by a break in food prices, which have since been rising steadily. Other items in the index, such as clothing, rent, gas and electric fuel, were still rising.

There is no sign as yet that price cuts will reduce the cost of living. Labor is arguing that cuts in steel and heavy-goods prices won't help workers make both ends meet. Philip Murray asserts that the US Steel cuts will amount to $25 million a year, 1.2 percent of the 1947 sales revenue and less than a $30 million price boost in February. Since April, 1947, he says, US Steel has boosted the price of finished steel by an average of $11.32 a ton, while the proposed cuts average less than $1.25 a ton.

Candidate

TOKYO (NR correspondent)

TO JAPANESE, the best show in Tokyo is the daily arrival of General MacArthur at his Dai Ichi Building headquarters at 11 a.m. sharp. An hour ahead of time, hundreds of them cluster reverently on the sidewalks to observe the approach of Ichi-Ban (The Great One). They are about to witness an episode commonly referred to by US occupation troops as "The Second Coming of Christ."

At 10:55 the atmosphere downtown becomes tense; there is a psychic falling of the glass. All movement ceases on the highway leading from the General's residence—the American Embassy—to the Dai Ichi Buiding, and traffic lights at all intersections glow a steady, baleful red.

The Japanese crane their necks. The Unattainable is drawing near in an enormous black Cadillac flashing scarlet license plates embossed with constellations and gold stars. Fifty feet to the rear roll two jeeps, which are there possibly not so much to honor, as to guard, the personage.

The General's car speeds into a sector meticulously cleared of traffic, then cuts across four lanes to the other side of the street and stops before headquarters. Four hundred Japanese suck in their breath and bow low as the General descends. American spectators, who have been smoking nervously, toss away their cigarettes and fumble with their cameras. The Japanese make their traditional obeisance and at the same time pick up the butts. The stubs will average three-quarters' length, or five-yen (10 cent) size. It is the reward of the humble.

When the General has disappeared through the swinging glass doors, his chauffeur puts little khaki slipcovers over the starred license plates, thus making the Cadillac anonymous. The Japanese vanish, and the Americans trudge off to Avenue A and their jobs. Buses, street cars and automobiles surge ahead, the charcoal-burning cars puffing great clouds of white smoke in resentment at the long wait. For Japan, the day has officially begun.

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FIVE STATES HEARD FROM

Last week pre-convention political skirmishing became more intense over the length and breadth of the US. Among states in which primary elections and other preliminary tests of strength were staged or scheduled, were Ohio, Oregon, Alabama, Colorado and Minnesota.

ALABAMA IS ANTI-TRUMAN

MONTGOMERY (NR correspondent)

ALABAMA'S May 4 primary, the first test of the seriousness of the "Southern Revolt" at the polls, was a flat repudiation of President Truman and Governor "Big Jim" Folsom. In practically every case, those candidates who attacked Truman's civil-rights program most loudly polled the biggest vote.

Birmingham Commissioner of Police "Bull" Connor, who recently directed the arrest of Senator Glen Taylor, rolled up one of the largest tallies for delegate to the Democratic National Convention. Folsom, who had taken office on a liberal platform, and supposedly was the state leader, ran a poor eleventh in the contest to elect eight delegates-at-large.

The results amounted to a special vote of confidence in Senators Lister Hill and John Sparkman. Sparkman's victory, by a four-to-one margin, over Folsom's candidate, Philip Hamm, was a solid endorsement of the Truman foreign policy.

Hill, running a strong first in the race for delegate-at-large, had announced himself as opposed to the renomination of Truman and as favoring Eisenhower.

Even if the Alabama delegation does not lead a stampede to Eisenhower, it may head a Southern bolt from the Philadelphia convention. Of the top eight in the race for delegate-at-large, five had previously said publicly that they would bolt the convention if Truman was nominated or if any part of his civil-rights program was written into the Democratic platform. Hill and two others had refused to pledge themselves to walk out. As of today, the control of the Alabama delegation goes back again into the hands of the reactionary state leaders, headed by Democratic State Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey.

All 11 of Alabama's electors, recently freed by the State Supreme Court from automatically supporting the party's national nominee, pledged themselves before election to oppose Truman.

Big Jim had tried for a clean sweep of the congressional-district elections as well. His candidates lost in every case, few polling more than a handful of votes. The two incumbent Representatives who were defeated, Carter Manasco and Pete Jarman, lost to middle-of-the-road men, not members of the Folsom slate.

Alabama chose White Supremacy.

OHIO PRIMARY-JUMPING

CLEVELAND (NR correspondent)

OHIO'S PRIMARY RESULTS pleased no one. The 14-9 split between Taft and Stassen in the series of contests for 23 delegates amounts to a stand-off.

The unanswered question in Ohio was: who voted for the successful Stassen delegates? The regular GOP organization claims they were elected, not by maverick Republicans but by Democrats who invaded the GOP primary. Representative George Bender, Ohio Congressman-at-Large and a power in the party, announced before the election that the Republicans would not tolerate invasion of their primary by Democrats.

Ohio law requires that voters enter the primary of the party most of whose candidates they supported in the last general election. But, practically speaking, there was nothing to prevent primary-jumping. A voter who was challenged simply had to sign an affidavit that he had voted for a majority of GOP candidates in 1946.

Bender was aiming his warning primarily at several top AFL leaders, including William Finegan, president of the Cleveland Federation and vice-president of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, who publicly supported Stassen. The uncommonly large GOP vote this year tends to support Bender's claim of a Democratic invasion.

Both Stassen and Taft campaigns were elaborate, featuring a large volume of radio and newspaper advertising, with trimmings including $100-a-day press agents. The Taft forces distributed $30,000 to precinct workers in Cleveland alone. The Stassen expenditure in the precincts was probably somewhat lower.

Stassen got a surprising degree of support from labor. In effect, leaders like Finegan indicated they were willing to go along with him even though he has voiced general support for the Taft-Hartley Act, rather than take a chance on another four years with Truman. There is increasing distrust of Truman in all factions of labor here. Some anti-Wallace CIO people indicate their private preference for Stassen over Truman, but are still reluctant to support him publicly for fear of the effect on congressional races.

By making a respectable showing on Taft's home ground, Stassen has certainly done some injury to Taft's standing. But Taft definitely is not out of the race. He may now at last have been goaded into joining enthusiastically in a drive to "Stop Stassen."

COLORADO GROUNDSWELL

COLORADO SPRINGS (NR correspondent)

APPARENTLY it was only Senator Gene Millikin's pudgy finger in the dike that prevented a Stassen flood at the May 1 Republican state convention here.

Until a few weeks ago it all looked cut and dried. Then, three GOP county conventions went for Stassen overwhelmingly. Elections for delegates

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from congressional districts produced five surprise Stassen victories. Senator Millikin, state Republican boss, came flying home from Washington just in time to snatch back the convention from Stassen's grasp. But the Minnesotan still won seven of Colorado's 15 delegates—just short of a majority.

Colorado's orthodox Republican strategy is to send to the national convention an unpledged delegation that can grab the most spoils possible in a quick vault aboard the winning bandwagon. Millikin himself—born in Ohio—is for Taft. In this case the spoils probably would include the Interior secretaryship for him, a very pleasing choice to stockmen and others who would like to go back to their old ways of gobbling up the West.

SEESAW IN OREGON

PORTLAND (NR correspondent)

NOBODY HAS EVER worked so hard to get Oregon's 12 delegates to the Republican National Convention as Governor Thomas E. Dewey and Harold Stassen in 1948. But Oregon's voters still have not made up their minds.

Until Dewey's arrival on May 1, the state was for Stassen, polls conducted by the two Portland newspapers, the *Oregonian* and the *Oregon Journal*, showed. Dewey's local advisers include Oregon-wise Ralph E. Morse, state campaign manager for Dewey as he was for years for the late Charles L. McNary, and has been lately for Senator Wayne L. Morse. These advisers told him he would lose Oregon unless he campaigned hard. But Dewey's New York advisers acted only after the Wisconsin and Nebraska elections. Paul E. Lockwood, Dewey's executive secretary, came here, and working with Morse and other Dewey supporters, arranged a vigorous campaign.

As soon as the Dewey schedule was announced, Stassen flew into Portland for a one-night stand. At Benson High School he told an overflow crowd that the Communist Party should be outlawed. Governor Dewey took that speech as the cue for his early campaign. He is opposed to Stassen's proposal. "Keep the Communists out in the open," he says, "and beat them by the use of existing laws, by exposing and discrediting them, by the merciless spotlight of publicity." In 18 speeches in four days he hammered at the issue.

Stassen appeared to have a good hold on the state before Dewey came in, and seems confident he can keep it. He has a youthful, aggressive organization, fired throughout with the enthusiasm of the band of young Republicans who have been working together for him since 1944, and bulwarked by funds raised by a finance committee which includes some of Oregon's solid business leaders.

The question in Oregon may still resolve, despite Dewey's hard work on the issue of communism, into personal appeal. Oregonians like Stassen's physical bigness, his open man-of-the-plains manner and his quarterdeck stance on the platform. Dewey is trying hard to beat that appeal. He shakes hands with all comers on the main streets of small towns, exchanges small talk with those of the multitude who can reach him and signs as many autographs as is physically possible.

But Oregon just hasn't made up its mind as yet.

MINNESOTA FIGHTS IT OUT

MINNEAPOLIS (NR correspondent)

IN ITS TRADITIONAL political atmosphere of violent factionalism, Minnesota is moving toward a bitter state convention on June 12-13 at which it will be determined whether the left or right wing of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party will take control and thereby determine presidential and senatorial nominations.

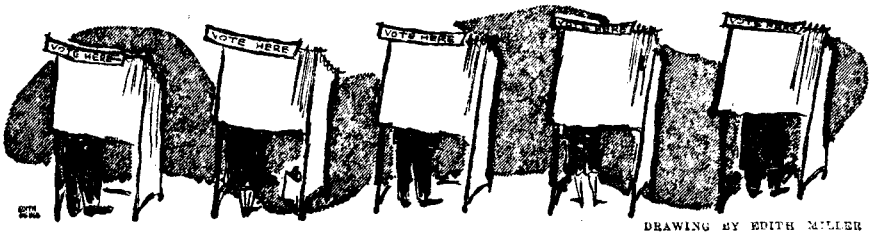
If the left wing, led by former Governor Elmer Benson, comes out on top, the party will either back Henry Wallace at the Democratic National Convention or boycott that convention in favor of the New Party.

If the right wing, headed by Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis, takes power, it will lead the D-F-L into the regular Democratic National Convention and throw Minnesota's votes to Truman.

The feud is aggravated by Humphrey's announcement that he wants the D-F-L nomination for the Senate against Joseph H. Ball, Republican incumbent.

Precinct and county caucuses, normally decisive in Minnesota, settled little this year. The D-F-L, formed four years ago by merging the moribund State Democratic Party and the old Farmer-Labor Party, which had been wrecked in 1938 by the original Stassen crusade, split into left and right-wing caucuses. Charges of fraud and forgery, and refusals to seat delegates characterized the caucusing. The pro-Wallace people concede defeat only in Ramsey County (St. Paul). The Humphrey forces claim victory everywhere. With two sets of precinct delegates elected, there will be rival county conventions in several key areas.

Then State Chairman Harold Barker and the credentials committee which he appoints will have to decide which groups are to be seated at the convention. If he seats the delegates of the right-wing convention in Minneapolis, which with the help of the Cowles newspapers has adopted the label of "regulars," Minnesota's delegation will stand for Truman and Humphrey. If he seats left-wingers from Minneapolis and Duluth, Minnesota may be pledged to Wallace; then Humphrey, the only D-F-L man with real statewide political sex appeal, won't get the D-F-L nomination for the Senate.



DRAWING BY EDITH MILLER

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HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

Ferment in the Middle West

I HAVE SAID many times that after fascism disappears everywhere else in the world it will still have a refuge in the United States unless a new, truly democratic party is built to real strength.

After a trip to the Middle West in April and early May, I have reached the conclusion that this potential fascism may last longer in the Middle West (and possibly in the South) than it will on either coast. I refer to the types of fear and thought-control which inevitably manifest themselves when the minds of the majority of the people become obsessed with fear of communism. Russia is the one dominant political issue. It seems that in those parts of the Middle West and South where the people are of old American stock, the disease of "Russophobia" is most severe.

At the opposite extreme we find that some of the most militant leaders for peace and understanding with Russia are coming from the church and college groups.

I especially enjoyed speaking in Moline and Rock Island, Illinois, because my father had been born there and my grandfather had served as a minister of the United Presbyterian Church in that area immediately after the Civil War. Here I found a profound interest in the New Party program, especially among the farm-equipment workers and the ministry. I was particularly impressed by the courage of Dr. A. D. Mattson, professor of Ethics at Augustana College, who chaired our meeting. Dr. Mattson said that my book, *Statesmanship and Religion,* published fourteen years ago, had first drawn him toward my views.

I especially enjoyed meeting with the people in this Illinois area because this is the spot which turns out more farm machinery than any other place in the world. The farm-equipment workers who manufacture plows, tractors, cultivators, combines and corn pickers make it possible for an hour of man-labor in the corn and wheat belt of the United States to produce from five to 100 times as much as in the older agricultural regions of the world. Improved farm machinery is at the very source, technologically speaking, of an advancing civilization. It is farm machinery which releases labor from the land to work in factories.

In this part of Illinois we heard of a number of efforts at intimidation of our friends. Various steps had been taken to make things uncomfortable for Dr. Mattson at Augustana College, and some of the ministers had been subjected to pressure. An American Legion group had circulated postcards designed to make it impossible for us to get a hall in which to meet. It is clear that everywhere we go, from now on, a big undercover effort will be made to prevent the New Party from getting halls in which to hold meetings.

Leaving by car, we drove across the broad, rich land of eastern Iowa to Iowa City. I never saw Iowa look more beautiful in late April. The oats had come up to a fine stand, and the fields for corn were largely plowed. The farm work was twice as far advanced as a year ago.

At Iowa City we found the campus in an uproar because we had been denied the right to speak there. But the organization of "Students for Wallace" went ahead anyway and I spoke in a park equipped with loudspeakers, to about four thousand people—mostly undergraduates. The basis on which I had been denied the campus was a ruling by the State Board of Education. The students are going to try to get that ruling revised.

Immediately after I finished speaking at the Iowa City Park, the students insisted that I have my picture taken with members of a new political group recently formed. While the photographers were at work, some students in the background threw a few eggs, and a photographer and a girl were hit. When I inquired about the matter I was told there were about twenty students on the campus who are imbued with a fascist concept of using force to combat ideas they don't like.

At the luncheon at Iowa City, the thing which struck me most was the large number of professors and professors' wives who were willing to take a chance and come, despite the recent reprisals at some universities against progressive faculty people.

While we did not have the support of some top Iowa labor leaders, the Des Moines meeting turned out far better than I had anticipated. I was greatly pleased when John Dennison, one of the oldest and most steadfast of Iowa progressives, introduced me.

The morning after the Des Moines meeting, I conferred with a number of county and state Triple A committeemen to get their ideas as to what the farm program ought to be. They were all agreed that its heart should be county committeemen elected by the farmers themselves.

In recent years a tremendous effort has been emanating from the processors and food manufacturers, operating through the Department of Agriculture and Congress, to destroy the county-committee system. This is the one place where we have had genuine economic democracy in the United States. The processors and food trades would like to control the county agricultural committees as they do the agricultural Extension Service.

It was getting on toward 10 o'clock, so we set out to meet an 11:30 en-

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gagement at Penn College at Oskaloosa. We drove by car along a road very familiar to me, to Pella, the old Dutch settlement. Tulips were in full bloom along the streets.

Jay Newlin, a member of the Friends' Service Committee, was driving the car I was in. He was enthusiastic about Penn College, where they have complete equality of races. There has been some opposition in Oskaloosa, but the Des Moines *Register and Tribune* has backed up the college. At the state university, on the other hand, a Negro student must go 34 miles to Cedar Rapids to get his hair cut.

I was told that the Wallace Committee on the Penn campus was quite strong. They have been getting out leaflets—and have been threatened with jail if they distribute them in Oskaloosa.

The philosophy of the Friends is increasingly like Gandhi's. They look on me, in some respects, as too far to the Right. Like me, they oppose violence of any kind: they advocate the use of organization to make spiritual forces effective in resisting the drive toward war. One of the Quakers told me that he understood that Molotov had informed a member of the Friends' Service Committee he was eager to have an exchange of cultural missions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

After we had finished eating, I sat under a tree on the campus and talked with the student body informally for about an hour. Some of them were eager to see me hit harder in opposing universal military training. Apparently they want me to use my influence on behalf of unilateral disarmament.

Driving northeast of Oskaloosa to Cedar Rapids, we passed through some heavily eroded farm land where blue-grass pasture, which should never have been put under cultivation, had been plowed. The continuous heavy cropping of recent years has permanently hurt some of the hilly land of Iowa. As soon as the urgent needs of Europe will permit, several million acres of Iowa farm land should be put back to blue grass and clover.

At Cedar Rapids I met with a number of local labor leaders, mostly CIO, and especially farm-equipment workers. One of the latter was very strong for UMT. Another was convinced that we would never have a real strong United Nations until we compel all children to go to public schools.

From Cedar Rapids we jumped to Topeka, Kansas, where I was pleased to learn of the very great interest in the New Party taken by the students and faculty of the University of Kansas, at nearby Lawrence.

A determined drive had been made in Topeka to prevent our holding a meeting. The former president of Washburn College had been serving as chairman of our committee, endeavoring to make arrangements, and was thoroughly shocked at the way in which some of the citizens of Topeka had worked to prevent our meeting. I met with some of the representatives of labor and one of the Brotherhood men told me how the bitter anti-Wallace people had threatened him with violence on the street.

Topeka is, in many respects, a Jim Crow town. There are separate schools and playgrounds for Negroes. I was surprised to find that the state of old John Brown and the early Populists had regressed to this degree. In one southern Kansas town it is against the law for a Negro to remain there overnight.

I honor Chancellor D. W. Malott, head of the University of Kansas, for apparently having given complete freedom to his faculty and student body. I am sure that Chancellor Malott disagrees with me on many things, but Kansas will never be completely reactionary as long as men like him are around to fight for freedom of expression.

The evening session was supposed to be held in a park, but an unusually heavy downpour just before and during the meeting forced us inside. Some of the people present were farmers who had driven as far as 300 miles. Considering the difficulties, the attendance was amazingly large.

At Topeka my attention was called to a story in the Wichita *Beacon* about the "red hot" reception I was going to receive in Kansas City, Missouri. The reporter said, in a dispatch dated April 30 from Kansas City:

"Rumors around the Muehlebach Hotel today have it that there might be something near a riot when the Iowan comes here to spread his Third Party gospel, and run for the presidency."

The next day I found myself at the Muehlebach. The bellboys were unusually courteous and the meeting in Kansas City went over without the slightest hitch. The violence which the reporter had tried to incite was solely in his mind.

The Wallace people in Kansas City had a little trouble finding a hall. Some effort was made to prevent my using the Masonic Hall, which was available, but this failed when it was discovered that I am a Mason.

In Kansas City I was especially interested in getting a first-hand account of the brutal attack on the Packinghouse Workers by the police of Kansas City, Kansas. They said that after the police got through, there was so much blood it looked like the slaughterhouse floor. People are asking: "Whose police are they?"

There are some who are certain that we now have a police state in the United States. I don't think so, but my trip through the Middle West convinces me that the New Party is going to have to put forth much more vigorous effort if we are to prevent fascism from coming to our country in the next five years.

My definition of fascism is that used by Roosevelt:

"The liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state itself. That, in essence, is fascism."

Kansas City, Kansas, has had experience with fascism.

Henry A Wallace

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TRUMAN AS LEADER

THE PRESIDENCY of the United States is the most important job in the world today.

In the four years after 1948 our President must spend more on war preparations than we have ever spent and yet maintain the faith of Americans in peace.

He must withstand aggression the world over and yet win the confidence and coöperation of the Soviet Union.

He must lead the world to peace through world reconstruction and yet protect our interests from further inflation ending in depression.

He must maintain the unity of Americans and yet chart a long-range program for a better life for our people.

Given these tasks, the presidency demands the very finest in leadership that our nation possesses.

Yet today in the White House there sits a little man.

Made Senator because a judgeship was not available; made Vice President when a tired President surrendered to machine pressure; made President when that leader died exhausted, Harry Truman has none of the qualities demanded by the presidency. The tasks are utterly beyond his narrow intelligence and limited capacity, as everyone who has worked with him knows.

Truman's record is disastrous. Yet on that record he is determined to be renominated and even believes he will be reëlected to the presidency.

Truman cannot be reëlected: The overriding interest of liberal Americans demands that he should not be renominated.

Truman cannot organize the democratic world or reach a settlement with the Soviet world.

He cannot prevent depression or bring about recovery.

He cannot save world peace or win a world war if war should come.

He cannot lead his party to victory or reorganize it in defeat.

To prove these assertions is the purpose of this analysis of Truman's record.

I. Truman on His Own

OUR SYSTEM of checks and balances is designed to protect our President from his own mistakes and to set up safeguards for our democracy against a President's blunders. Generally it works, but at certain times the President is on his own—unguarded.

One of these times is when the President speaks. Truman's speeches are always a giveaway. In spite of repeated rehearsals, his performance on the air is still that of a faltering schoolboy who has been handed a reader two grades beyond him. His wooden, mechanical gestures, his attempts to instill conviction, are the despair of his speech writers. It was no accident that during the congressional campaign of 1946 the National Committee put a muzzle on the President, the head of their party. They knew that every speech he made would cost the Democrats half a million votes.

White House press conferences are another giveaway, showing Truman as he really is. Governments may be torn down and rebuilt, America may be committed to a course of action, by the off-hand cracks which Truman makes and often doesn't understand.

Newspapermen were at first taken aback by the impromptu Truman statements, such as his casual remark that America would keep the secret of the atom bomb. But they have learned to take these remarks as a matter of course. They recognize that when President Truman characterized price control and rationing as police-state methods he was simply parroting what his last caller, probably Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder, had said on the subject. He did not know, of course, that some of the brighter people in his administration were at that very time planning to put into his mouth a month later a request for the

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restoration of these very same controls.

Everyone recalls his performance in connection with the Wallace speech of September, 1946. Wallace, then Secretary of Commerce, read aloud to the President for his approval a draft of the speech on foreign policy he proposed to make in New York City. He was taking no chances on the President's known difficulty in understanding the printed word. The President gave the speech his complete approval and sent Wallace off with his blessing. One can imagine what a shock it was to Truman to learn from Secretary of State Byrnes that Wallace's speech was in violent conflict with the foreign policy of the Truman Administration. Byrnes was firm; Wallace was fired for making the speech the President had approved the week before.

Some people thought Wallace pulled the wool over the President's eyes. Others thought it was Byrnes who pulled the wool over his eyes. Both of these groups were wrong. The wool was over his eyes to begin with.

Truman's record is that of the small-time machine politician. A useful and reliable performer of chores, he went up the local ladder as Tom Pendergast's man—the same Pendergast who later went to jail for political corruption. Placed in the Senate by the Pendergast machine, Senator Truman turned in a colorless performance on the Hill. His reputation in the Senate was built on the achievements of the War Investigating Committee, which rightly redound to the credit of the half-dozen able staff members who guided the investigations and wrote the reports for him.

Outstanding during his career as a Senator was his unswerving loyalty to his Missouri buddies, including his disreputable and broken boss, Tom Pendergast. Among the few times that Senator Truman attained eloquence were those when he attacked Maurice M. Milligan, who, as United States Attorney for western Missouri, sent Pendergast to jail. With a violence that shocked other Senators, Truman excoriated Milligan, and, just a few weeks before Roosevelt died, attempted to prevent his reappointment. As President, one of Truman's early acts was to kick Milligan out of his job.

Loyalty and party discipline were always strong in Truman. When his party was led by Roosevelt and his loyalty was given to Roosevelt, his voting record at least was good. It served as camouflage for a basic lack of understanding in Truman himself. Only on rare occasions, as in June, 1941, when Hitler attacked Russia, was Truman's incapacity exposed. Roosevelt and Churchill immediately pledged all-out support to the Soviet government. Not so Senator Harry Truman, who spoke up as follows:

"If we see that Germany is winning we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany, and that way let them kill as many as possible."

II. Truman and His Buddies

WHEN Roosevelt's death left Truman on his own, his appalling incapacity was fully revealed. In making speeches he was able to repeat the resounding Rooseveltian sentences which his ghost writers had learned by heart. In tackling new problems he was lost from the beginning. Quickly he fell into abject dependence upon a group of advisers who by no stretch of the imagination can be called liberal or internationalist.

First, there is the Missouri Gang, the old cronies, the buddies of World War I. These men, who form the kitchen cabinet, are mostly from Missouri—Snyder, Vaughan, Graham, Clifford, Vardaman—but they include other cronies such as Allen, Steelman, Tom Clark and Pauley. They are men whom the President and the country recognize as being the same sort as himself—with similar background, outlook, prejudices and limitations.

Many of them eat and sleep in the White House, and all of them have the President's ear at any time. They are the men who mold his attitudes, suggest his appointments, and shape his thinking. They pander to his ego, laugh off criticism, and form a wall around him that cuts him off from the leaders of his own party and, indeed, from the American people.

When Truman became President it was generally expected that he would work very closely with his old friends in the Senate where he had served so long. This expectation was heightened when, during the first few weeks of his administration, he broke precedent by making an unheralded and informal appearance in the Senate dining room. But his relations with the Senate, which began on an intimate, cordial note, soon became strained. As the Missouri Gang took over in the White House, it became increasingly difficult for the leaders of the President's own party on Capitol Hill to get in to see him. For a long time now the party leaders in Congress have been unable to penetrate the Missouri Curtain.

For many months Bob Hannegan, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee and the man who made Truman Vice President, worked hard to keep open the lines of communication between the White House and Capitol Hill. Increasingly, the Missouri Gang sealed him off from the President until finally he quit in disgust. His successor, Senator J. Howard McGrath, has had no better luck.

Captain Harry S. Truman served with Battery D, 129th Field Artillery, AEF. Most of his present cronies served in the Artillery with him. Major General Henry H. Vaughan, for example, whom the President called in as his military aide shortly after his inauguration, served in the same unit. Vaughan is the bumbler who in one famous speech managed to insult the British, the Russians, the Wacs and the Protestant chaplains. But Vaughan is not entirely the buffoon. He is a fixer who meddles continuously in the affairs of practically every department of the government and exercises considerable influence—all of it bad.

Less influential, but still part of the gang around the President, is

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Brigadier General Wallace H. Graham, Truman's personal physician. When his name turned up among the speculators who, to use the President's phrase, were "trading in human misery," it shocked the public conscience. Not so Truman's, which could take Graham's speculation in stride, just as it could take Ed Pauley's.

Also from Missouri is Jake Vardaman, one-time commander of Battery A, 335th Field Artillery, AEF, whose friendship with the President goes back to the annual encampments of reserve officers in Kansas. Vardaman, the ex-president of a St. Louis shoe company that went bankrupt, once was charged with embezzlement. While there is no reason to doubt the justice of his exoneration, he has not the remotest qualification for his position on the Federal Reserve Board—an agency charged with managing the money and credit of the United States. That is where Truman placed him, over strenuous and widespread protest.

Another old artilleryman who served with Captain Truman is the narrow-minded, stubborn Secretary of the Treasury, John W. Snyder. Before coming to a post in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation during the war, his record as a bank official in Arkansas and Missouri was completely undistinguished. Yet this was the man chosen by Truman to succeed former Justice Byrnes and the present Chief Justice Vinson to the crucial post of director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, at a time when reconversion was America's primary and most difficult task.

John R. Steelman is not from Missouri, but he has become an accepted member of the gang. Formerly head of the Conciliation Service in the Department of Labor, he played a minor role during the war and was passed over repeatedly, with cause, when Roosevelt was building up the machinery and finding the men to handle wage stabilization. When Will Davis, head of the Office of Economic Stabilization, was fired and George Taylor, of the War Labor Board, quit, and the wage-stabilization machinery fell apart,

Steelman, an ingratiating personality catalogued by correspondents as an apple polisher, moved in.

For a long time the "croniest crony" was the Mississippian George E. Allen, in whose office hangs the President's picture with the inscription, "My very best to a regular guy, my friend George Allen." In addition to being a regular guy, and a natural-born clown, Allen is a trouble-shooter for the Wall Street tycoon Victor Emanuel, head of the Aviation Corporation and a man with divergent interests in German companies, for example, I. G. Farben.

Truman nominated Allen as a director of the RFC, although Allen had been placed by Emanuel in the directorship of many companies which had direct business relations with the government. To a curious Senate committee Allen described his function in these companies as "public relations," although it was clear that the only public he dealt with was in the White House and on Capitol Hill.

As this motley and unsavory crew moved into the White House, it was inevitable that the able public servants who had rallied around Roosevelt would have to move out. Some were fired, others quit; some left at once, others held out almost to the bitter end. But the exodus is complete. Remember these men:

Chester Bowles, driven from the government by the lobbies, Congress, and Truman's man John Snyder.

Wilson Wyatt, driven from the government by the private-housing leadership, working through Truman's men, George Allen and John Small.

James Landis, driven from his position as head of the Civil Aeronautics Board by pressure of the airlines lobby working through Averell Harriman.

Herbert Lehman, driven out when UNRRA was abandoned to a selfish group in Congress by the President.

Henry Morgenthau, pushed out to make way eventually for John Snyder.

Francis Biddle, pushed out of the Department of Justice to make way for a small-town Texas politician, Tom Clark.

Henry Wallace, pushed out by pressure of James Byrnes.

Harold Ickes, who told the President that Edwin Pauley had promised that oilmen would give $300,000 to the Democratic Party if the government

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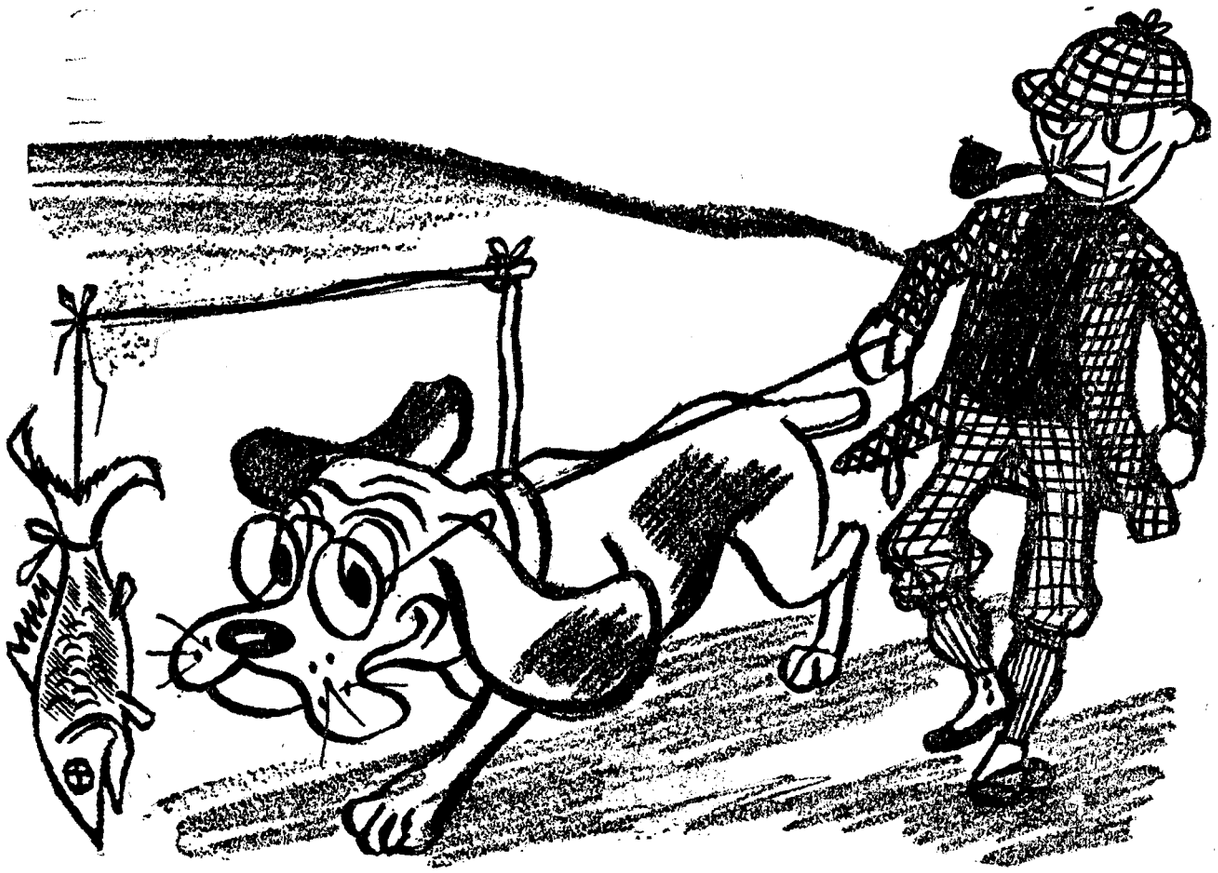

would call off its suit, on behalf of the American people, to regain title to tidelands oil, and was told to be "gentle" with Pauley.

Will Davis, Director of Economic Stabilization and one of the ablest men in Washington, fired for the crime of being misquoted at a press conference, as Truman later acknowledged.

Wendell Berge, Paul Porter, John Fahey, Abe Fortas, George Taylor. . . . The list is long: no President ever lost or fired so many able men in so short a time.

III. Truman and the Brass Hats

INTO THE VACUUM created by the exodus of the New Dealers, two groups have moved—the Brass Hats and the Wall Streeters. Wall Street has been powerful before in our government. Never have the military been so powerful in time of peace.

All across the globe, at key points of contact with both our former allies and former enemies, we glisten with brass. General MacArthur in Japan and General Clay in Germany are there because these are occupied countries. But men such as General Keyes in Austria, General Walter Bedell Smith in Russia, Admiral Kirk in Belgium and General Osborn at Lake Success fill key diplomatic posts and lead delegations of important UN commissions.

The State Department, under General Marshall, has become a fortress, ruled by a military chain of command.

Ten of the twenty executive officers of the State Department are military men, serving under a former War Department man, Robert A. Lovett, the Undersecretary of State. "Today," concludes the *Army and Navy Bulletin*, "the Army has virtual control of foreign affairs."

Yet even the State Department is now subordinate to the National Security Council in formulating our international policy. This council, created at the insistence of James Forrestal, includes Marshall, Forrestal as Secretary of Defense, Kenneth Royall, Secretary of the Army, Stuart Symington, Secretary of the Air Force, and John L. Sullivan, Secretary of the Navy. All these men act on one assumption: that armed force is the major instrument of foreign policy. Yet they are given a controlling voice in determining policy.

Military dominance of our government is a violation of one of our greatest traditions. It is tragic, not because the generals are evil men but because they are out of place in civilian jobs. They have only the dimmest appreciation of the forces that rule dictatorship, govern democracy and inspire peoples. Their world is one of shifting fronts and ceaseless quarrels ending in war.

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IV. Truman and the Money Boys

THE OTHER major group that pushed out the New Dealers is the Wall Streeters. This is not the first time that Wall Street has fastened a firm grip on Washington, but the invasion under Truman is unique in two respects. Never before have financial interests so dominated Washington during a Democratic administration; and never before have the Wall Streeters and the military leaders been bound so closely that they function as a team.

By far the most powerful of the Wall Streeters is James V. Forrestal, a longtime Democrat but of the kind that no one could ever single out in a crowd of Republicans. Originally with the New Jersey Zinc Company and the Tobacco Products Corporation, he came to Washington direct from the presidency of Dillon, Read and Company. This is one of the giant Wall Street investment houses whose tentacles reach out to many of the corporations of this country and to cartels abroad, notably in Germany.

Forrestal's friends are stationed at key points throughout the government. Among them are: Sidney W. Souers, banker, industrialist and secretary of the National Security Council; Thomas J. Hargrave, president of Eastman Kodak, on leave as chairman of the Munitions Board directing armaments production; Arthur M. Hill, Greyhound Bus director, now chairman of the National Security Resources Board, the body which is putting all industry on a basis of readiness for war; William H. Draper Jr., a vice-president on leave from Forrestal's old firm, the Undersecretary of the Army, who halted decartelization in Germany and is working to rebuild Japanese industry in preparation for an anti-Soviet conflict.

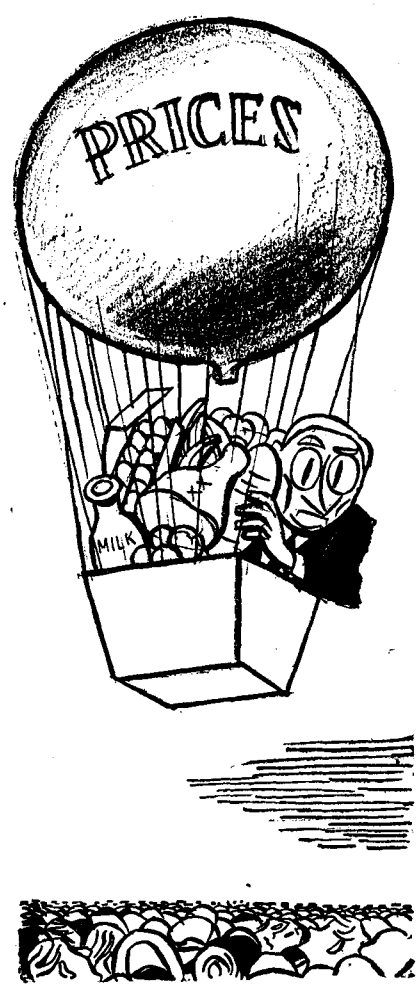
Only slightly less powerful is William Averell Harriman, former Secretary of Commerce and now the Administration's top ERP representative in Europe. Harriman, formerly a great industrialist and banker, has intervened repeatedly and successfully in the interest of the railroads in their fight for higher freight and passenger rates. His pressure led to the firing of James M. Landis. He was one of the prime movers behind the scenes in ridding the government of Marriner S. Eccles. He was active in the drive to emasculate the Securities and Exchange Commission, which for the past decade has stood as a bulwark against the manipulation of other people's money. The current emasculation, which will be completed when James J. Caffrey is replaced as chairman by a friend of Wall Street, Edmond M. Hanrahan, will mark final success for the bankers, who tried in vain through the Roosevelt years to end government control over money and return that control to its traditional resting place in Wall Street.

Another influential representative of the Wall Street point of view is Lewis W. Douglas, Ambassador to Great Britain, formerly president of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York and member of the board of American Cyanamid. A lifelong Democrat, Douglas was named by Roosevelt as Director of the Budget in the early days of the first Administration. His general attitude was revealed by his walkout on the President when Roosevelt was not prepared to sacrifice relief for needy families in the name of financial orthodoxy. It was revealed again in 1936 when he voted for Alf Landon. He was the man whom Truman brought back to the Administration as our representative to the Labor Government of Great Britain.

Many of the men to whom Truman turns for guidance combine Wall Street backgrounds with Army experience. For example, there are General Charles E. Saltzman, formerly of the New York Telephone Company and the New York Stock Exchange, and Robert A. Lovett, of Brown Brothers, Harriman, in the State Department; General Draper in the Department of Defense. President of the World Bank is John J. McCloy, former Assistant Secretary of War and partner in the Wall Street law firm of Cravath, de-Gersdorff, Swaine and Wood.

The generals and bankers who run our foreign policy are men unaccustomed to the give and take of negotiation, impatient with anything less than full compliance, untrained in the art of persuasion that is fundamental to diplomacy. The general is accustomed to command the movement of units of force; the banker expects his caller to stand hat in hand, and show cause why his application should not be denied. From Marshall on down, we have rejected bargaining. Our terms are take it or leave it.

With such men at the helm, it is no accident that our Russian relations have steadily deteriorated. To such men the "cold war" comes naturally. Whatever their views may have been originally, they have now hardened to the conviction that the shooting war is inevitable. They no longer think in



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terms of how war can be prevented, but only in terms of when it will come.

Within limits, of course, it is the job of the Department of Defense to prepare for war and seek to protect America through large armaments, just as it is the job of other government departments to present their special points of view. It is the President who must reconcile these points of view and subordinate every special interest to the overriding national interest of the United States. Roosevelt did this. He kept the military on tap but not on top. He received the bankers without giving them a mortgage on our government. He stood above all pressure groups, interpreting the highest interest of all of the people.

Now in the White House sits a one-time Army captain standing in awe before the four and five-star generals; a onetime Missouri businessman, reverent in the presence of Eastern bankers. The superior will is gone. Surrenders to pressure, sudden reversals, hysterical outbursts, sickening compromises and outrageous betrayals of other peoples dominate our actions as our government drifts.

V. Truman at Home

TRUMAN, when accident made him President, pledged to carry forward the Roosevelt policies. The Missouri Gang, and beyond them the bankers and Wall Streeters, have permitted the use of the Roosevelt phrases only. All liberals may take pride in Truman's speeches on domestic policy. His actions have been another story.

Since the end of the war, there have been four basic problems on the domestic front: reconversion of our industrial machine to peacetime production; the cost of living; homes for veterans; labor relations.

All four have been miserably mishandled. Today, nearly three years after the war, there are still appalling scarcities in the most productive country in the world. The cost of living has gone through the roof, and millions of Americans are on short rations of meat, milk, butter and eggs. Almost as many veterans' families are homeless as when the glittering housing promises were made. Labor's right to collective bargaining has been seriously undermined by law, and the hard-won gains of labor stand in precarious balance. For all these unhappy results, Congress bears a heavy responsibility; Truman is also to blame.

Reconversion was the first and most crucial issue confronting the Truman Administration. After V-J Day, men like William H. Davis and Chester Bowles pleaded with the President to use the War Production Board to break production bottlenecks, to direct scarce raw materials into products needed by the American people, to plan and direct the shift from wartime to peacetime production. J. A. Krug and John W. Snyder, fronting for the big-business lobbies, demanded the elimination of all restraints on business. In this fight, the President once again spoke the right words and called for an orderly reconversion. But it was to Snyder and Krug that he gave the green light. He dismantled the machinery for production control, and stripped himself of all power to obtain the orderly reconversion he had called for.

Today we are short of automobiles, building materials and a host of other essentials; homes are cold because we lack the tankers, oil cars and pipelines to transport the oil; and Europe pleads in vain for the steel to repair its industrial machine. These shortages are the price we are paying for Truman's surrender to the big-business lobby.

Price control was the second great issue, and it has been the same story on that front. The speeches Harry Truman made were the right ones. They should have been. They were written for him in the OPA. But behind the scenes, he allowed Snyder to cut the ground out from under Bowles on every price issue that came up.

The decisive test came in the case of steel, the backbone of our economy. At the height of Bowles's struggle with the steel industry to prevent a price break-through, the steel men ran to the White House. The President, on the advice of Snyder, capitulated to the industry. Bowles was relieved of his duties as price administrator, and, on Truman's assurance that he would have a free hand to enforce a new hold-the-line policy, accepted the post of Director of Economic Stabilization. But after the break-through on steel prices, and in spite of Bowles's vigorous fight, there followed a rapid succession of other increases, granted not in the OPA or the Office of Economic Stabilization, but in the White House. Aware that the White House was breaking the back of the hold-the-line program and starting us on our way to inflation, Bowles resigned.

Not to be outdone by the President, Congress took up the cudgels in the summer of 1946. It extracted the teeth and broke a limb or two of the OPA, but it remained for the President to deliver the *coup de grâce*. When, in September and October, the livestock raisers went on strike and refused to bring their cattle and hogs to market until price controls were removed, they were simply following in the footsteps of the steel industry. They had taken the measure of the President. They had seen him knuckle under once, and knew he would do it again. Sure enough, in the face of this strike and on the very eve of the 1946 elections, he lifted food-price controls and let the cost of living skyrocket.

Later, on the insistence of liberal forces left in the government, Truman sent to Congress a ten-point program to halt inflation. It was promptly undermined by Averell Harriman, Secretary of Commerce, working within Truman's own cabinet and with Truman's acquiescence. One man who had consistently fought inflation was Marriner Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. In the midst of the inflation battle, Truman surrendered to Wall Street pressure applied through Harriman and Snyder, replacing Eccles with Thomas B. McCabe, a Republican corporation executive with Liberty

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League views and the backing of the House of Morgan.

On housing, the third basic issue, the disparity between Truman's words and actions could not be clearer. When Wilson Wyatt drew up the blueprint for the veterans' housing program, calling for 1.2 million homes in 1946 and 1.5 million in 1947, the President applauded and promised the full support of his Administration. But every time Wyatt came up against the real-estate lobby and the producers of building materials, Truman backed the lobbies. Congress had little to do with the gutting of the veterans' housing program. Congress passed the basic statute Wyatt asked for. It also appropriated the money he requested. The fight against the housing program was waged from inside the Administration.

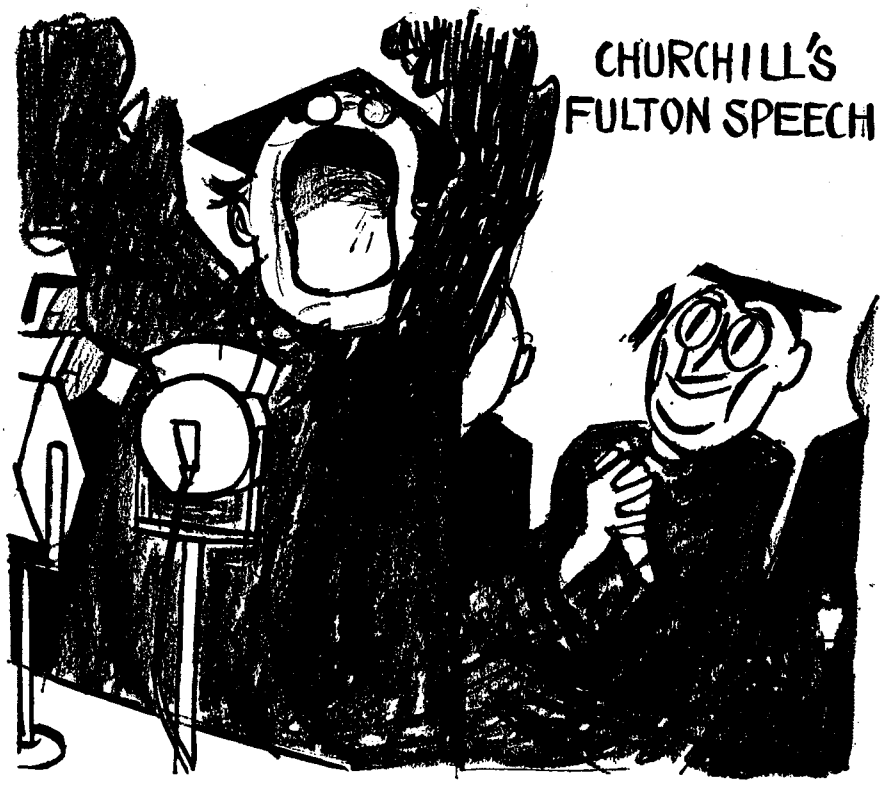
It was John D. Small in the Civilian Production Administration who refused to curtail the non-housing construction that was gobbling up scarce building materials. It was the same Small who refused to use priority and allocation powers, without which Wyatt could not get the cast-iron soil pipe, the bathtubs, the electric wiring, the nails and other needed materials.

It was Allen in the RFC who refused to provide the financing for factory-built housing—the veterans' only real hope of obtaining housing in large volume at low cost.

It was General Littlejohn of the War Assets Administration who thought that war plants, which Wyatt sought for the building of homes, could be put to better use in building cars.

And last but not least, there was always Synder to caution the President that perhaps, after all, it would be better to forget the veterans' housing program, to let prices rise, and to let builders sell the resulting trickle of homes to those who could afford them.

Blocked at every turn by members of Truman's official family, Wyatt threw up the sponge and resigned. The President patted him on the back for services well done, but said that the housing program would have to be adapted to "the government's announced policy of relaxing controls."



Thus died the veterans' housing program—a full year before its scheduled end. Homes for veterans are still as scarce as hen's teeth.

On labor relations, the fourth vital issue, Truman has oscillated like a pendulum. Between crises, his mien to labor has been benign, and his words have dripped honey. But at every showdown where the interests of labor were at stake, the mien always changed to petulance and anger, and the words became a battle cry for anti-labor measures of unprecedented harshness.

Almost immediately after V-J Day, Truman in a memorable speech expressed sympathy for the war workers who were faced with a deep cut in their take-home pay, and called upon business to raise wages just as far as its generous profit position would allow. He followed this by himself suggesting an 18.5-cent-an-hour increase for the steel workers, while broadly intimating that other unions should receive similar treatment. But, as on every other issue, the President followed the practice of not letting the right hand know what the left hand was doing.

At the very time that Truman was publicly urging business to grant wage increases, Snyder, behind the scenes, was counseling business to resist union demands. With this double dealing, it was no accident that in the spring of 1946 we witnessed one of the most serious crises in our history, a crisis that brought reconversion practically to a dead stop. In this Truman-induced crisis the President did not recognize his own culpability; instead, he turned sour on labor. He threw his weight increasingly in favor of management, and ultimately used the full power of the government to break strikes.

In the steel and automobile strikes, he refused to use his power to seize the plants and enforce a fair settlement, when it was management which had rejected the compromise offer, suggested by the President himself in the steel case, and by a fact-finding panel in the case of the auto industry. In sharp contrast, the President seized the railroads and the coal mines without hesitation when seizure meant the breaking of those strikes.

In the most inflammatory anti-labor speech ever delivered by an American

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President, Truman on May 25, 1946, went before Congress to excoriate the leaders of the Railroad Brotherhoods, and to demand the most sweeping anti-labor legislation. He demanded revival of the power of injunction against labor unions; power to deprive striking workers of seniority rights; power to draft striking workers into the Army. An inflamed House quickly passed the legislation, but in the Upper Chamber, Senator Taft—no friend of labor, but unmoved by the President's hysteria—refused to let his party go along with a program so clearly repugnant to our democracy.

There is considerable evidence that the hysteria was largely a White House product. According to A. F. Whitney, head of one of the Brotherhoods involved (the trainmen), Truman obtained a five-day postponement of the strike on the strength of his word that he had definite terms from the railroad operators which would ensure a satisfactory settlement. The President had no such commitment. Whitney further reports that two full days before the inflammatory speech to Congress, Truman instructed Steelman to discontinue further negotiations with the unions. According to Whitney, the strike itself was actually settled a half-hour before the President spoke.

What Truman started in the railroad strike he finished in the coal strike. On that occasion he nullified the Norris-LaGuardia Act, for which labor had struggled for well-nigh fifty years over a black period in which court injunctions were used to break strikes throughout the length and breadth of the country. Despite the statute, the President sought and obtained an injunction to break the coal strike. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the miners' position, in resorting to the hated injunction the President turned the clock back to the time labor-management relations were in the jungle stage.

On the labor front, as on the cost-of-living front, Congress was ready to carry the ball when the President dropped it. True, the President vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill, in which Congress laid a legal basis for undermining union strength. But the message accompanying his veto made strange reading alongside his incendiary speech in the railroad crisis. And it is no secret that he refrained from using the

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great powers of his office to mobilize his own party in the Senate so that the veto might be sustained.

On other issues the story has been just as dismal. Truman's messages, as in the daring civil-rights proposal of February 2, 1948, have often been more outspoken and courageous than those of Roosevelt. But once again, no legislation followed. Truman "instructed" the Secretary of Defense to eliminate instances of discrimination in the armed services "as rapidly as possible," and pledged that the personnel policies and practices of "all the services in this regard will be made consistent." Only six days later, Secretary of the Army Royall announced that the Army would not budge on its policy of segregating Negroes, and that with the exception of New Jersey, whose constitution prohibits segregation, the states would be required to segregate Negroes in National Guard units.

Far from fighting to defend civil liberties, Truman has run a race with the Republican Congress to curtail them. In the spring of 1947, when the House was considering legislation to discharge federal employees suspected of disloyalty, the President grabbed the ball and ran with it. If his intention was to head off abuses that might come from congressional action, the fruits of his own loyalty program have been just as bitter. Despite Truman's declaration that we must by all means avoid a witch hunt, there is no other way to characterize what he himself initiated.

Fear destroys effective government. Under the Truman Administration, the entire federal service lives in fear.

VI. Truman Abroad

WHEN JAPAN SURRENDERED, Harry Truman spoke to a crowd from the White House porch. "This is a great day," he said. "This is the day when we can start our real task of implementation of free government in the world."

He began with two colossal moral blunders—the use of the atom bomb and the destruction of lend-lease.

The use of the bomb, despite the strongest protests of the atom scientists, represented Truman's desire to end the war at one stroke. It gravely weakened America's moral authority and placed us at a basic psychological disadvantage in seeking to bring atomic energy under world control.

The ending of lend-lease within a week of Japan's surrender represented Truman's desire to return at once to "normalcy." To our allies it was a brutal and unforgivable act. They knew that to Roosevelt they were comrades in arms; to Truman they seemed to be mercenaries, entitled to rations only as long as their blood was flowing.

What is Truman's foreign policy? The answer is: he has none.

In Roosevelt's day, a superior intelligence gathered up all the threads of America's world actions and knit them into a well-conceived plan for furthering One World. In the absence of any superior intelligence or guiding will, in Truman's term of office the threads at once became badly snarled.

The State Department's hidebound foreign service took back the initiative in world affairs which it had lost to Roosevelt, only to lose it in turn to the Department of Defense. MacArthur pursued his own policies in Japan. Marshall attempted independently to solve the problems of China. Spruille Braden and George Messersmith struggled for the soul of Latin America. In Germany, Generals Clay and McNarney struggled without any coherent directives from Washington, while in Austria General Mark Clark, filled with his own peculiar prejudices, presided over the destruction of Allied unity in Vienna.

The Navy Department, concerned about bases, established its own strategy and policies for the Pacific and Middle East, while the Air Force planned war over the North Pole. In atomic energy General Groves pursued his vicious ends and Bernard Baruch his pet plans. Vandenberg hewed to his own line, often closer to the UN than Truman's. Congress, carrying the Truman Doctrine to its logical conclusion, offered ERP aid to Franco Spain. At no time has America felt the presence of a commander-in-chief.

First Edward Stettinius and then James Byrnes failed to measure up to the tasks of Secretary of State, although their failure in large part resulted from the complete lack of understanding in the White House, where basic principles had to be formulated, over-all strategy determined, and final decisions made. The appointment of George Marshall as Secretary of State seemed to compensate for Truman's failure as Commander-in-Chief. But Marshall's own mind stopped short at the highest, all-important level where understandings are reached and settlements are made. That level was as empty as the space between the stars.

A brief review of American policies shows how Truman's irresolution contributed to failure.

Germany has always been the major issue between the US and the USSR. At Yalta the Allies agreed upon denazification, decentralization, decartelization and reparations as the basic occupation policies.

Of all these, reparations were most important to the war-devastated USSR. At Yalta it was agreed that Germany should compensate the USSR "to the greatest extent possible" for damage done. The Soviet proposal of $10 billion won a moral commitment when President Roosevelt accepted it as "a basis for discussion."

The Potsdam Conference, Truman's one and only meeting with the Russians, was called to spell out the agreements already reached. Truman and Byrnes went to Potsdam determined to make the German occupation pay its way. They were willing to accept only a form of limited reparations which, coupled with their ending of lend-lease to Russia, amounted to a denial of any concern for the welfare of the Soviet people. In the bitterness that followed, charges and counter-charges of bad

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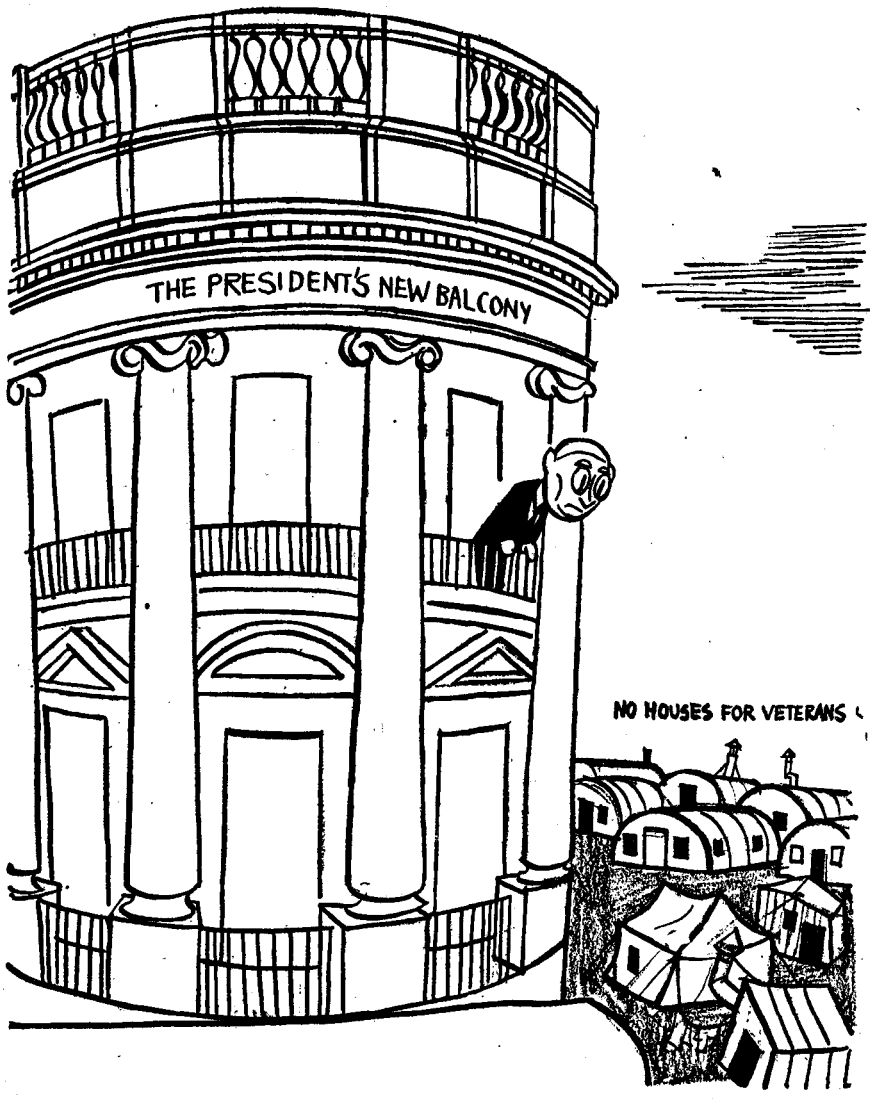
faith grew, until the Potsdam agreement was abandoned by the US. One reason why Truman did not meet again with the Russians was his sense of personal incapacity, revealed at Potsdam.

Atomic Energy was a second major issue after the war. No advance preparations were made by the Truman Administration to provide for world control of atomic energy. Truman's casual announcement, at the war's end, that America would keep the secret of the bomb made negotiations almost impossible. This country quickly moved into a bitter struggle when the military attempted to take control of atomic energy. In this struggle, won by liberal pressure outside the government, the May-Johnson bill for military control was written and advanced from within Truman's Administration, which, in Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer's words, would "have stopped science cold in its tracks."

A committee led by David Lilienthal produced a first-rate report for world control of atomic energy. In UN negotiations it was overlaid with Bernard Baruch's proposals for restriction of the veto power, and was never spelled out. In the crucial moments of negotiation, when there was hope for agreement, America drained that hope by continuing to produce atomic bombs.

Reconstruction was a third major issue. The postwar world food crisis which broke in late 1945 found in America a rich nation in a starving world, but stripped of controls in Truman's race to return to normalcy. A hostile Congress and an indifferent President let America lag far behind in meeting her commitments to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Herbert Lehman, Director General of UNRRA, demanded a return to rationing in America. Truman invoked voluntary controls instead, and named Herbert Hoover as chairman of a Famine Emergency Committee to apply these controls. When American shipments fell farther behind our commitments, Lehman resigned. His successor, Fiorello LaGuardia, condemned America's emerging policy of giving aid only to those countries "chosen, picked and acceptable to our government." He begged for a new Food Fund to save UNRRA. Instead Truman took the initiative in killing UNRRA. "Whatever the United States does in the way of relief should be done by the United States unilaterally . . . and not as a member of an international organization," said Secretary Byrnes.

Piecemeal loans followed, inadequate, and made on harsh terms. Congress certainly was far worse than the President. Yet there is little doubt that real leadership in the White House could have prepared and executed the world reconstruction fund which Roosevelt planned. Eight months of mounting misery and tension followed in Europe before the Marshall Plan was first conceived.



The Middle East has been a fourth major issue, since the war, in which Truman's own irresolution has endangered world peace. Truman began by supporting free settlement of Palestine by the Jews. Three months later, he withdrew his support for a Jewish Commonwealth. His indecision at the time of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry report thwarted the recommendations of the commission and increased the probability of civil war. Under mounting political pressure Truman added up the electoral votes of New York State and plumped for partition. Yet in the UN debate America's position was so uncertain that no enforcement powers were given to the UN's decision.

American oil companies have a large financial stake in the Middle East. The yearly output of oil there is worth $1 billion. The Arab feudal rulers, on

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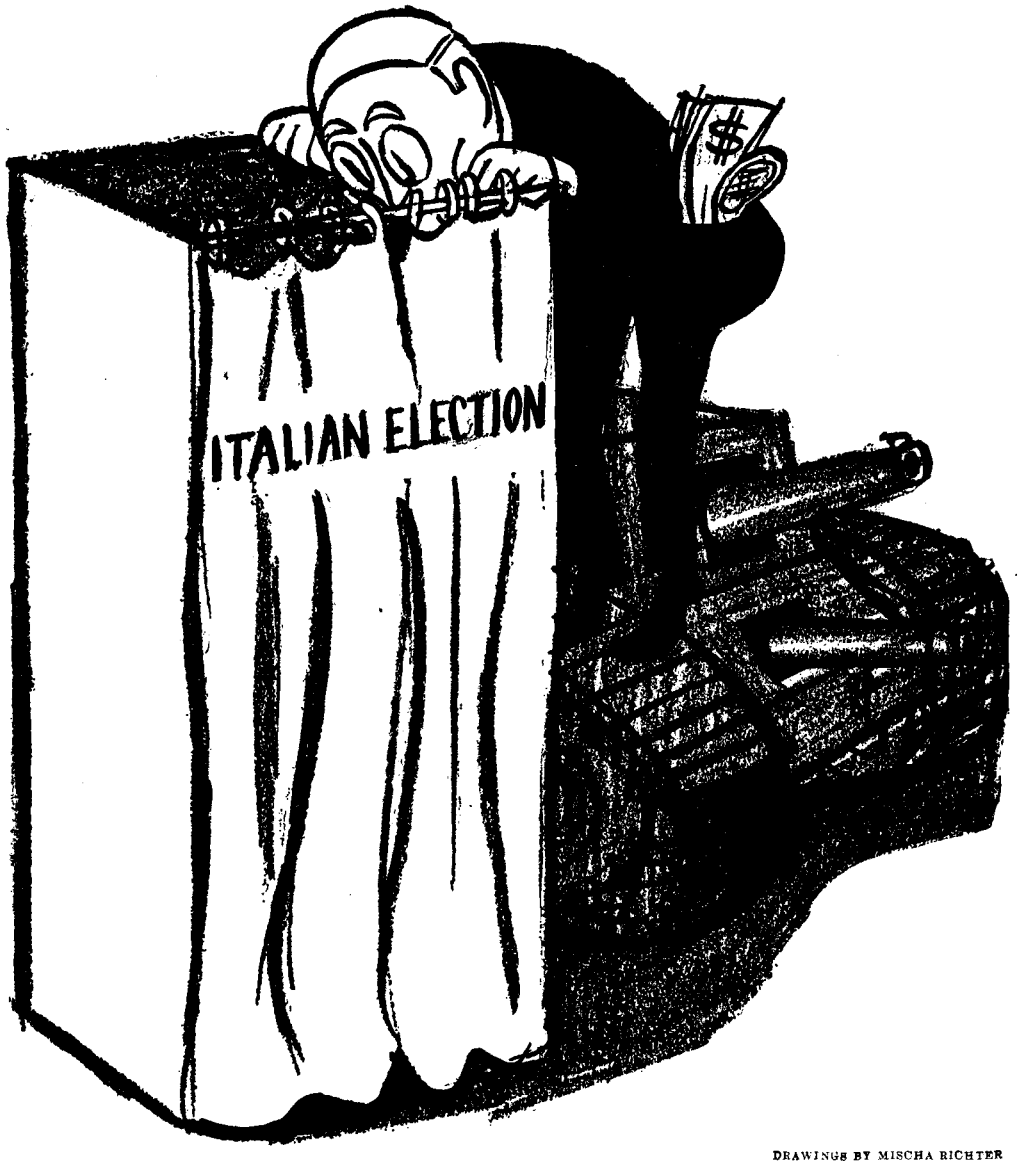
whom the present system of exploitation of Middle East resources is based, receive $80 million a year.

Oil is profitable and important strategically to navies bent on conserving domestic resources for use in wartime. It is for the President to subordinate the interests of profit and war preparation to the interests of peace and the inviolability of world law. Instead, under pressure from Forrestal, Truman reversed America's policy in Palestine, undermining the United Nations and the entire force of law represented in the UN decision. Truman's action caused complete paralysis in the UN, and by encouraging Arab defiance of the UN, made inevitable added violence and loss of life in Palestine.

"The boycott, the bypass and the breakdown are not the way to make the United Nations stronger, or the way to serve peace," Trygve Lie asserted, voicing the world's resentment against America's actions. In world diplomacy, the tension and uncertainty caused by sudden reversals and action without warning and without principle can be as dangerous to peace as aggression.



DRAWINGS BY MISCHA RICHTER

US-USSR relations have been the central problem of world politics since the war. It is hard to believe that just three years ago US-USSR relations were so close at the Yalta Conference that *Time* magazine, which now cries war week by week, declared that "all doubts about the Big Three's ability to coöperate in peace as well as in war seem now to have been swept away."

The fault is not America's alone. The USSR, laid waste by war, has never offered positive leadership for peace. It has rejected the few real offers that America has made. It has not given true allegiance to the UN and its specialized agencies. It has refused to countenance world control of the weapons of mass destruction. It has overrun independent and democratic nations and prevented reconstruction by a united Europe. Its aggressive tactics, its rooting out of all Western culture, its dedication to militarism, dictatorship and eventual world control, all make coöperation difficult and sap the faith of Americans in peace.

America's failures fall in the category of lost opportunities, and they are more tragic because America, spared the horror and destruction of bombing and invasion, with 60 percent of the world's productive capacity, had an unequaled opportunity and responsibility for world leadership.

In the deterioration of relations between the two countries, Truman's first act was to give a blessing, by his presence, to the Fulton speech of Winston Churchill which historically marked the end of efforts to reach a settlement and the beginning of preparation for war. Truman's supreme contribution was his annunciation in March, 1947, of the Two World policy of economic, social, political and ideological warfare against the USSR known as the Truman Doctrine.

As in the case of many of Truman's actions, the doctrine was sprung without warning in a mood of hysteria. The reason for his sudden action was

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Britain's decision to withdraw a part of her forces from Greece. This action had been expected for months. A brilliant report by an American-led commission of the UN had called for UN action to raise Greek living standards by a combination of international loans and internal economic and social reforms. It had been totally ignored, both by an indifferent administration in Washington and by a corrupt and reactionary regime in Athens.

Instead, Truman announced that "a militant minority" had made recovery impossible in Greece. He declared that the world was locked in mortal struggle between two ways of life, one the way of freedom, the other the way of "terror and oppression." In the name of aiding "free peoples" threatened by "totalitarian aggression" and without reference to the United Nations, he called for unilateral United States economic and military assistance to Greece and Turkey.

So Truman proclaimed the Cold War. In France and Italy American pressure forced the Communists, despite their massive popular support, out of the framework of participation in democracy. All over the world extremists were encouraged, tensions were heightened, civil war was moved closer. The USSR replied, of course, by creating the Cominform and declaring its intention of destroying the Marshall Plan, our one great effort to obtain world reconstruction. The Cold War was on in full force.

Yet in this war, America, despite her predominant resources vital to all nations seeking recovery, has stood at a constant disadvantage. That is because, in a world crying out for progress, America has represented reaction; because, in a world in which social reform is far more necessary for all nations as a means of increasing production than imports from America, the Truman Administration has often made the issue: social reform *or* American aid.

In the swift suppression of freedom in Czechoslovakia, in the suppression of all opposition in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, the Soviet Union has exposed itself and its social system as ruthless and reactionary. Yet America does not hold the respect that freedom deserves. It is because the Truman Administration in its frantic search for allies has worked with collaborationists, great landowners and war profiteers, and has condoned fascism and dictatorship in Europe, Asia and Latin America, while the Communists have advanced themselves as the champions of the people. It is because all peoples know that America has not fully backed the UN or tried unceasingly to seek peace. Centuries of oppression and exploitation give rise to the enormous drawing power of the Communist ideal. Truman has attempted to destroy this ideal with dollars and with weapons, instead of replacing it with a superior ideal.

The measure of Truman's retreat from the Roosevelt principles is easily seen in world policy. Roosevelt, backed by a decade of New Deal efforts to better the lot of Americans, was able to speak from his heart to the world's peoples and to earn their love. A Roosevelt would have looked at Europe where, for example, in Sicily 83 landlords own the estates worked by 350,000 landless farmers, and he would not have waited for the Communists to lead in the struggle for land reform.

He would be out in front calling for reconstruction programs, public power projects, tax reforms and protection for consumers. Under his leadership, to peoples weary of generations of oppression, war and want, democracy would have quickly gained vital meaning in terms of their daily lives. In his place stands Truman, prisoner of his own barren doctrine of negation, division and fear.

VII. Truman Wrecks His Party

OUR PRESIDENT is also the leader of his party. Here Truman's record is as disastrous as his record as chief executive.

For millions of Americans the Democratic Party is the party which in our lifetime has stood for reform and which under Roosevelt put through the New Deal over the bitter opposition of Republican reaction. Under Truman these millions find themselves lost and without leadership. If Truman is the candidate of the Democratic Party, then most of them will desert their party to vote for Henry Wallace. Wallace's vote may well exceed Truman's. Yet it will represent a protest against Truman's failure rather than a positive faith in the ability of the New Party to win the support of organized labor and to provide a platform and leaders sufficiently broad and representative to make the New Party the first party in America.

These next four years are crucial. In these years a liberal President is vitally important to America. A liberal majority in Congress is equally important for Americans and for all peoples. Only the Democratic Party in 1948 can possibly elect a liberal President and a liberal majority in Congress.

The greatest political asset we have at present in America is the group of liberals in Congress who resist reactionary pressures and stand for the principles we believe in. They are Democrats.

The record of this Congress shows a real break between the two parties. On the Taft-Hartley Act, for example, 71 out of 177 Democrats voted to sustain the President's veto, while 225 out of 236 Republicans voted to override. On the bill to deprive the government of $4.8 billion of tax income, 64 out of 148 Democrats voted against, while 205 out of 206 Republicans voted for cutting taxes. Republicans led in proposing Marshall Plan amendments to include Spain, to restrict trade between Eastern and Western Europe and to require loyalty probes of ERP employees.

A liberal Democrat, Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, led the fight to maintain rent control. Two Republicans, Jesse Wolcott and Daniel Reed, defeated her efforts.

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Thirty-four Democrats voted against new appropriations for the vicious Un-American Activities Committee. Only a single Republican, Jacob Javits, voted against the committee.

An analysis of all the key votes cast by the 80th Congress on domestic and foreign policy shows that 60 percent of all Democratic votes cast were acceptable from a progressive point of view, while only 20 percent of all Republican votes cast met this test.

To preserve the liberal spirit of the Democratic Party must be a major effort of many Americans. Yet under Truman's leadership this spirit is condemned to death.

Under Truman the Democratic Party is disintegrating.

An obvious sign of this is party discipline in Congress. Today in Congress one-half of the Republicans vote with their party leadership more than 90 percent of the time. For Democrats the proportion is less than one-third. Of 244 Republicans in the House, 224 can be counted on by their leaders; even on broad issues, Democratic leaders can count on only 122 votes out of 185.

In the 1946 campaign Wallace demanded that the Democratic Party take measures against the reactionaries within its own ranks who voted to destroy price control and who worked consistently with the Republicans. Nothing was done. In the present Congress, Democrats voted 30-11 in the Senate, and 84-64 in the House, against the President on tax reduction. Twenty Democratic Senators and 106 Democratic Representatives voted against Truman on his veto of the Taft-Hartley bill. One hundred and three Democrats in the House voted with the Republicans to cut Truman's proposed budget. The Southern Revolt against the civil-rights program is by far the most serious break of all. By failing to maintain any kind of order in his party, Truman has gravely jeopardized the position of all liberal Democrats and is sending the party to its death.

Truman has treated the Democratic Party as a family matter, putting the whims of his cronies first, relying on the support of a few bosses, making no effort to stand by principles. He has ignored the advice of his own leaders in Congress and has driven liberal staff members of the Democratic National Committee to resign in disgust. A primary responsibility of any leader is to keep the confidence of the people. Truman, who never held the confidence of Americans, has lost even their sympathy today.

Truman is convinced that he will pick up support between now and November. His chances can be judged from the experience of 1946. After Roosevelt's death, 87 percent of Americans were shown to be sympathetic to Truman. During the 1946 campaign his support fell to 32 percent—at a time when 45 percent of the people supported the Democratic Party.

Now, before the campaign has even begun, Truman's support is down to 36 percent of Americans. Even these

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polls do not show what will happen to him when the campaign starts and the story of Truman's past, and his record, are fully analyzed. So far the Republicans have kept their mouths shut about Truman, because he is their ideal candidate—the easiest man to beat.

If he runs, Truman will take down to defeat with him at least two-thirds of the liberals in Congress. He will discourage the able young progressives from running for Congress this year. His candidacy will result in one of the most reactionary Congresses ever elected in America, and elected at one of our country's most crucial moments. Yet even in going down to defeat, Truman is incapable of presenting to the American people the choice between clear-cut issues that can prepare the way for a liberal comeback later on. The campaign Truman will wage can be judged by his political tactics so far: they are to call Henry Wallace Alcibiades, to refer to the New Party as "Wallace and his Communists," and to incite hooliganism and violence by telling Wallace to go back to Russia.

VIII. Four More Years of Truman?

WE'VE TALKED about Truman's record; what about the next four years?

Let's take domestic problems first. The majority of Americans will still lack adequate housing, education, social security and medical care. The pressure of inflation will be strong as further shortages develop in steel, aluminum, meat and other key products. Labor will face mounting pressure from the great corporations out to destroy the social gains of the last fifteen years. At the same time, more and more of our resources may be needed for rearmament.

We can tackle these problems by progressive taxation, assurance of minimum social standards, adequate government controls, insistence on plant expansion and encouragement to free labor.

Or we can tackle the same problems by letting profits and wages run wild, by lowering living standards, by curbing labor, by trying to win political support by the suppression of opposition and the incitement of hysteria.

Let's take world problems. The majority of the world's people will still be on the ragged edge of misery and still open to Communist propaganda. The struggle to overcome the conditions that give rise to communism will still continue. The pressure of the USSR will be strong and will demand counter-pressure. The UN will still be weak and will need strengthening.

We can tackle these problems by clearly stating our principles and standing by them; by aiding real democracy everywhere and opposing feudalism and fascism; by actively seeking to adjust our relations with the USSR, and by giving full support to the UN; by providing for Americans and others the aims that an active democratic policy requires and deserves.

Or we can place our emphasis on dollars and military force alone, organizing an anti-Communist armed camp and preparing for inevitable war.

In both domestic and world problems, the first way is that of effective and liberal government. It can succeed. The second way is the *way* of *reactionary* government, or the *result* of *weak* government. It must fail.

Certainly Truman has had a tough time from the Republican Congress. But under the bipartisan policy he has as much support from this Congress as Roosevelt had from Congress during his second, third and fourth terms.

This is no time to pick a candidate for the presidency of the United States out of sorrow, sympathy or sentiment.

By his lack of vision, his inability to elect a liberal Congress, and his choice of administration leaders, Truman has proved himself unable to prevent depression, to win peace or to prepare the way for the rise of a progressive America from the defeat of 1948.

By these failures he has disqualified himself for the leadership of the Democratic Party and the support of liberal Americans. As a candidate, he will leave in the wake of his defeat a split-up labor movement, a broken party, a great body of liberals and independents divided, embittered and disillusioned with politics. American liberalism deserves better than this, and it will do better. Nineteen-forty-eight can still be a year of hope.

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EDITORIAL: IF NOT TRUMAN, WHO?

ONE OBVIOUS ANSWER is Henry Wallace. In his campaign he has broken down barriers of segregation in the South; he has become a symbol of resistance to attacks on civil liberties; he has expressed the basic faith of Americans that peace is still possible; he has carried his demands for economic and social reforms to the farthest corners of America.

The contrast between Wallace's campaign, and the campaign waged so far by Truman is very clear. If Truman is a candidate, the votes of most liberal Americans will go to Wallace.

But the responsibilities of a free citizen go far beyond voting once in four years; they include organized political action.

Without political action, the organizing drives of unions in the South die at the courthouse steps; the higher wages won with great effort by labor go up in smoke in still higher prices and profits; the demands of veterans for better houses wither before the massed fire of the lobbies. Without political action, the cries of liberals for justice and peace are lost on the wind.

Survival now means giving to political organization, without reservation, our energy, our resources, our allegiance and devotion.

Wallace affirms this; the leadership of labor does not. That is Wallace's strength and labor's weakness.

Today the trade unions are divided and largely paralyzed politically.

Is the New Party the means to unify labor and mobilize it for political action?

Yes is the answer of New Party leaders. They foresee as imminent an aggressive war waged by America, sudden and severe depression, and unparalleled economic and political offensives by employers, military men and Republicans acting together. They believe that rank-and-file union pressure under these conditions will transform present leaders or create new leaders for labor, resulting in unity behind the New Party.

Are they right? *No* is the answer of the leaders of organized labor who are fighting the New Party. The bitterness is great and growing, and for all who believe, as we do, that only on organized labor can a progressive movement be built, the answer is unclear. It is tragically unclear because only by the death of the Democratic Party, which as the instrument of the Roosevelt coalition carried through a generation of social reform, which led in a war against fascism, and in which today millions of liberal Americans still believe, can the New Party live.

Program and structure are basic in building a political party. If the first task is to mobilize labor for political action, what party program and structure can do the job?

Fundamental in any program is the means of living in One World with the USSR. For example, starting from one interpretation of the unity, the power and the war-mindedness of the Center and the Right in America, the New Party opposes programs in which these groups participate, including ERP. Starting from another interpretation, most liberal and labor groups, including the *New Republic,* have supported ERP.

Fundamental in any party structure is its degree of internal discipline and conformity, and its choice of allies. A party built as a broad coalition may accept different viewpoints even on issues as important as ERP. A party built as a tightly knit force, as the New Party is today, cannot.

In choice of allies the Communist issue has become all-important to the leaders of organized labor. We do not attach supreme importance to it, perhaps because we have greater confidence in the possibility of coöperation with Russia. Yet the break between liberalism and communism is wide.

A progressive party can be built on one of three principles: opposition to Communists; coöperation with Communists; and independence of Communists. The first, practised by too many liberals, we believe is sterile because it is no part of the needs and aspirations of ordinary people. The second, accepted in the New Party, we believe is also sterile because any party must have an underlying cohesion and because the tactics, the principles, the techniques, the loyalties and the ultimate aims of Communists and progressives are not the same. Further, we believe that the intolerance of Communists like that of extreme anti-Communists, has no place in a progressive movement.

The third principle, alone, we believe can win most Americans. We believe in the rights of Communists and progressives to have their own parties and to coöperate in certain tasks. But we believe that this principle of independence of progressives is important to any party which seeks to form the government of the United States.

For these reasons, while we believe that Wallace's message should reach all Americans, we are still independent in politics.

If not Truman—who? The candidacy of any man is incidental to the central issue—labor's decision to place its entire weight behind a political organization. Given this decision, the mechanism by which labor exerts its will is unimportant. In 1948, the common interest of all progressives may be obscured; it must not be destroyed. Many issues demand united action this year and many candidates deserve united support. This much is undeniable; beyond this there are no clear answers for independents, and there will be no security, until organized labor, affirming its right to leadership and its responsibility for leadership, gives life to a progressive party and brings America into step with the world.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE FAITH OF ARNOLD TOYNBEE

by R. H. S. Crossman

THE POPULARITY of Toynbeeism is an unconscious tribute to Karl Marx. The cult which has made the one-volume edition of *A Study of History* a best-seller and recently elevated its author to the rank of *Time's* "Man of the Week" has its origin in the uneasy feeling that, if America is to defeat Russia, then American democracy must have a philosophy of history which can challenge dialectical materialism on its own ground. The West too must have its prophet and its pattern of historical destiny. A similar instinctive demand for a scientific anti-communism made Spengler's *Decline of the West* a best-seller in Europe of the 1920's. But Spengler was only a Prussian schoolmaster who solved the riddle of history in his spare time. Toynbee has all the apparatus of classical education and academic insignia with which to vindicate his prognostications.

Not that this makes very much difference. If you disregard the numerous and immensely entertaining detours into the byways of history, *A Study of History* reveals itself as a number of dogmatic assertions overlaid with a vast superstructure of pseudo-science. This is even more plain in *Civilization on Trial* (Oxford; $3.50), a collection of occasional essays and lectures, composed over the last twenty years for a relatively inexpert public and now gathered into a single volume. The "science of history" is just as much a contradiction in terms when it reaches anti-communist conclusions as when it demonstrates the "inevitability" of the classless society.

History can be "scientific" in the sense that it is studied by men aware of scientific method, but it cannot be itself a science. Every science, whether natural or social, involves a deliberate abstraction of certain phenomena from the flux of events. The mathematician, the physicist, the biologist, the economist discover uniformities by disregarding differences.

In the last resort all science is hypothetical and the hypotheses undergo constant modification. This is why scientific truth can be changed without being "proved false." It is a long way from the laws of Newton to the laws of Einstein. En route we have not discovered more about the same Newtonian "object." Indeed, we have shown that it does not exist "really." The nature of the "object" is redefined each time we modify the hypothesis.

What is the object which history studies? Civilization, says Toynbee, following Spengler. It is as justifiable for a historian to assert that all history is the history of civilizations as it is for him to claim that all history is the history of class war, provided that he realizes that he is merely stating a point of departure for his research. "I think it would be an interesting experiment to view history on the assumption that . . ." But Arnold Toynbee, like Karl Marx, cannot retain this scientific detachment. The hypothesis becomes a dogma, an ideology. Class war is the secret, says Marx. No, the secret is challenge and response, replies Toynbee. No one can prove or disprove these rival assertions any more than the doctrine of the Trinity.

The analogy with theology is illuminating. In the Middle Ages history was set within a framework of theology—confines which cribbed it but also gave it form and significance. With the disappearance of ecumenical Church and State, history in the seventeenth century sought a new framework in natural science and tried to eliminate theology altogether. It was on the basis of this naturalistic hypothesis that Marx built his theory. Now Toynbee tries to provide a scientific scaffold for a new anti-naturalistic philosophy of history.

In *Civilization on Trial* he asserts again and again that the true key to history is the growth of the higher religions and that the continued existence of civilized life in the twentieth century depends on the reassertion by theology of its authority over the souls of men. The World Caesar, whom he foresees as an inevitable consequence of Western techniques, must have his counterpart in a World Pope, though not necessarily a Catholic or even a Christian Pope. Man must submit himself once again to God if he is not to destroy himself.

> If religion is a chariot, it looks as if the wheels on which it mounts towards Heaven may be the periodic downfalls of civilizations on Earth. It looks as if the movement of civilizations may be cyclic and recurrent, while the movement of religion may be on a single continuous upward line. The continuous upward movement of religion may be served and promoted by the cyclic movement of civilizations round the cycle of birth, death, birth.

So if we are all wiped out, we have the consolation of knowing that out of our putrefying corpses may arise a higher religion.

Toynbee may, of course, be right in

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this somewhat gloomy redefinition of progress. It is possible that we are approaching the end of the liberal epoch, during which man has believed that he could master not only nature but society through his own reason and self-discipline. It may be true that social life cannot survive without the "noble lie" which the philosopher-kings in Plato's Republic knew to be untrue but compelled their citizens to believe. At any rate, Toynbee believes that we need the ultimate sanction of a religion to restrain our passions, and urges that science must once again be subordinated to metaphysics and theology. But if this be true, one thing is certain: no one can prove it scientifically, or deduce it, as Toynbee seeks to do, from a study of history.

Toynbee is an important figure because he personifies the terrible dilemma of the liberal who has ceased to believe in liberalism, yet is compelled by his training and environment to use the categories of liberal thought to express his mystical skepticism. He is the agnostic who cannot believe, yet understands the need for faith; the Grand Inquisitor of Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov.*

Just as Spengler's pessimism and Caesarism reflected the mood of the anti-Socialist Germans after 1918, and prepared the way for the Nazi ideology, so *Civilization on Trial* may well be a prophetic book for the USA. It proclaims the need for an ideology not only anti-communist but anti-liberal, which has not yet developed; for a religious authoritarianism to replace the present myth of material progress and democracy. Toynbee sees that mere anti-communism is not an ideology but a reaction. It must develop one way or the other: either into a positive restatement of liberalism in terms of the planned economy, which he rejects as man-made civilization, or into the strict antithesis of communism—the planned suppression of the class war and the subordination of the scientific mind to theology.

What is significant in *Civilization on Trial* is that it seems to rule out the alternative to religious authoritarianism. Toynbee's approach to history is not only unscientific and illiberal but anti-scientific and anti-liberal. Man's faith in his power by reason to master his destiny seems to him to be blasphemy. Prometheus, who stole the fire of Zeus and, even when he was chained on a mountain with an eagle pecking out his liver, defied the power of God, used to be a symbol of human endeavor. For Toynbee he is an allegory of the insolence which is leading man to his doom. That is why he believes that civilization—the attempt to liberate men from bondage to nature and to give them human happiness—has no virtue in itself, but is to be measured only by its ability to produce a tiny minority of religious mystics.

Thus, he writes:

> While the replacement of the mundane civilizations by the worldwide and enduring reign of the Church Militant on Earth would certainly produce what today would seem a miraculous improvement in those mundane social conditions which the civilizations have been seeking to improve during the last six thousand years, the aim, and test, of progress under a truly Christian dispensation on Earth would not lie in the field of mundane social life; the field would be the spiritual life of individual souls in their passages through the earthly life from birth into this world to death out of it.

Could there be a clearer repudiation of the principles of the Renaissance and of the democratic developments of the last 300 years?

It is only fair to point out that Toynbee's contempt for the liberal aim of human happiness is rooted in an astonishing ignorance of science and scientific method. Brought up in the strictest classical tradition, by the age of 22 he knew Latin and Greek and the Bible perfectly, but little else. He had studied Plato and Aristotle, but nothing of modern science or modern history. This explains the ignorance of economic history which can let him write, "The Industrial Revolution was invented in England," and his medieval passion for argument by analogy.

His theory of civilization is a vast edifice of fantasy, based on a few historical analogies drawn for the most

part from Greek and Roman history. Facts interest him, as they interested the medieval monk, chiefly as illustrations of dogma. His mind still works in the grooves of Aristotelian logic, and he thinks in terms of genus, species and essence. For Toynbee, the Soviet Union is *essentially* the home of Orthodox Christendom; America *essentially* a part of Western Christendom. Why "essentially"? And why, if civilizations are the proper objects of study, is the USA only an offshoot of Western Europe and not a civilization on its own? Such questions, which would arise naturally in a scientific mind, do not occur to Toynbee. The schema is fixed before the facts are studied, and the facts are forced into it as ruthlessly as our forefathers fitted history into a time chart on which Adam and Eve were born in 4004 B. C.

But this does not mean that *Civilization on Trial* is unreadable. History is illuminated, if it is studied consistently from almost any point of view. That the point of view is perversely selected does not prevent the cone of light from picking out unnoticed constellations of facts. Though Toynbee has little of interest to say about the USA —we have already had too many European appraisals of American culture as a pure derivative of Western Europe—he reveals new and fascinating aspects of Russia and Islam. Those who regard him as a prophet of anti-communism should look, for instance, at his brilliant description of Western aggression as seen by the historians of the Kremlin and of Mecca.

Meanwhile those of us who still believe that the greatest happiness of the

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greatest number is something worth striving for should recognize in Toynbee a formidable adversary worthy of careful refutation.

PENINSULA OF SOCIALISM

THE CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY: A Study of its Social, Economic and Political Implications, by James R. Newman and Byron S. Miller (Whittlesey House; $5).

IT IS IMMENSELY USEFUL to have, at last, a critical scrutiny of the Atomic Energy Act on a level more sophisticated and informed than the diatribes of Representative J. Parnell Thomas and Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, who see in it only a sieve for secrets.

James R. Newman and Byron S. Miller see in it a development which "in its impact on social, economic and political circumstances is an event comparable in importance to the successful release of atomic energy itself." And they have annotated the law with the exhaustive care that a Shakespearean scholar would give to "Hamlet" or "Macbeth."

This is not an easy book, but it is a fascinating one—fascinating for laymen no less than for lawyers and researchers. The Atomic Energy Act of 1946 was framed by a Congress lifted transiently by awe of Hiroshima out of the obstructionism, dismal reaction and social myopia which characterized virtually all its other undertakings. Awe, compounded of mystery and a sense of impending doom, has until now largely precluded popular recognition of the tremendous peaceful potentialities of atomic energy and the revolutionary changes of relationship between governments and peoples which may flow from it. These are considered by the authors soberly yet with luminous insight. Their writing has verve, occasional dry humor and an aptness for illustration that makes even abstruse technicalities intelligible to lay readers.

A principal thesis of the Newman-Miller book is that, through the Atomic Energy Act, "the field of atomic energy is made an island of socialism in the midst of a free-enterprise economy." There is cogent evidence to support this thesis in the exclusive ownership granted to the Atomic Energy Commission of all fissionable material and of the facilities for its production, and in the power to regulate through licensing "every single transaction involving source material, every industrial and commercial application of atomic energy." Through its power to license and to abrogate patent rights, moreover, the commission's controls cut across a considerable area of the national economy remote from atomic energy proper.

National security was the goad to this radical extension of governmental authority. The bitter struggle in Congress to free atomic energy from private profit and to make its vast potential benefits available to all the people whose government fostered and financed its development is recounted by the authors dramatically and with a lively awareness of the great issue involved. They tell with equal vividness about the uprising of the atomic scientists, their fight to prevent the continuance of military control of atomic energy under the May-Johnson bill and the final triumph of the principle of civilian control in the McMahon-Douglas bill. James R. Newman, as White House adviser on science and atomic-energy legislation and as counsel to the Senate Special Committee on Atomic Energy, played a leading role in the resolution of these conflicts.

It might be more accurate, however, to call the Atomic Energy Act a *peninsula* of socialism, rather than an *island*. For Congress renounced the traditions of private control at best diffidently and tentatively, leaving itself a bridge, or at least holding in its hand a kind of Ariadne's thread wherewith to find its way back to the safe contours of the past.

The very first paragraph of the Atomic Energy Act declares one of its fundamental purposes to be "strengthening free competition in private enterprise." This is a purpose which may prove dominant in the future when industrial applications of atomic energy become feasible and when the reverence for its implications is somewhat diluted. The Act requires the Atomic Energy Commission, whenever non-military uses are sufficiently developed to be of practical value, to come back to Congress for specific consent respecting the policy it proposes to adopt. Moreover, as Newman and Miller note with frank dismay, the commission has already displayed a deference toward private enterprise in some of the contracts it has made and in its decision not to conduct research in its own laboratories. But in the main, considerations of military security, if nothing else, will keep the fundamental features of atomic energy—*i.e.*, fissionable materials and the facilities for their production—inescapably under governmental control.

Newman and Miller are caustically critical of the inhibitions which the Atomic Energy Act imposes in the name of security on the exchange of scientific information. They express "serious doubt" that information controls have any value at all; and their analysis of the dangers inherent in these controls is among the most valuable aspects of their book. "The use of the word 'secret' for the results of scientific investigations," they point out, "is unfortunate and misleading." Other scientists can in time achieve the same results, and secrecy can serve at most only to retard them by making them conduct their own investigations. "So the question becomes not, 'Shall we keep the secrets of atomic energy?' —that is impossible—but rather, 'Will the control of atomic information in the United States delay other nations enough to warrant the resulting impairment of our own research and of international comity?' "

Terror of the atomic bomb is natural and understandable—perhaps even healthy—but terror at the loss of the "secret" is a tribal and superstitious fear that, once gaining ascendancy in our minds, must inevitably weaken rather than strengthen our defensive power as a nation. Preoccupation with the "secret," instead of with the thing itself, will stifle the scientific research from which our real strength is derived, will strengthen the pernicious misconception that we have a monopoly of knowledge in the

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science of atomic energy, and will beguile us into embracing the fatal fallacy that we can achieve security for ourselves by keeping our knowledge from others.

In the end, of course, there is no escape from the terrors of atomic energy save, as the authors observe, through world union. There was shattered at Hiroshima, among other things, the whole idea of national sovereignty. ALAN BARTH

FIVE-STAR STATESMAN

EISENHOWER SPEAKS, edited by Rudolph L. Treuenfels (Farrar, Straus and Company; $3).

IN HIS Victory Order of the Day to the chiefs of all General and Special Staff Divisions given on May 8, 1945, General Eisenhower issued a prophetic warning. "Let us," he said, "have no part in the profitless quarrels in which other men will inevitably engage as to what country, what service, won the European War. Every man, every woman, of every nation here represented, has served according to his or her ability, and the efforts of each have contributed to the outcome."

On June 15, 1945, in a speech accepting the Order of Victory from Marshal Zhukov, the General said: "On two occasions now I have had the great honor of meeting high officials of the Soviet government. It is my feeling that in the basic desires of all of us they are one with us. Regardless of the methods by which we arrive at that goal, that is what we are struggling for." In answer to a question at his Paris Press Conference on June 15, 1945, he said: "The peace lies, when you get down to it, with all the peoples of the world, not just for the moment with some political leader who is trying to direct the destiny of a country along a certain line. If all the peoples are friendly we are going to have peace. I think the Russians are friendly."

Although even as early as June 18, 1945, it was almost daring to speak well of Franklin D. Roosevelt before Congress, Eisenhower said to a joint session of House and Senate: "Because no word of mine could add anything to your appreciation of the man who, until his tragic death, led America in war, I shall say nothing other than that from his strength and indomitable spirit I drew constant support and confidence in the solution of my own problems."

Speaking in Toronto on January 12, 1946, the General offered a lesson in tolerance of the lack of democratic traditions in other nations with less happy histories than ours. To the Canadians he said: "You and ourselves are relatively young nations and it is frequently difficult for us to understand that in certain problems of life, the legends and traditions of two thousand years ago may be fully as important as the cold logic of today. . . . If we can truly grasp and analyze the roots of the aspirations, of the hopes and the fears of others, we will generate not only a needed tolerance in ourselves but will encourage hope in others and allay their fears."

Addressing the Reserve Officers' Association in Chicago on June 2, 1946, he had a word for those who lightly toss around "predictions as to how and where and why the next war will be fought." Such talk, he said, "is more than foolish; it is vicious." At Norwich University in Vermont on June 9, 1946, he reminded us that the chief service we could supply to democracy was to make it work. "If our country," he said, "is to aid unhappy millions of the world toward a better life in our concepts of democracy, the United States must set an example to command respect." Speaking of the United Nations at Norwich, he said, "We must not—we dare not—admit the possibility of failure."

These quotations are taken almost at random from *Eisenhower Speaks*, a compilation made by Rudolph L. Treuenfels of the General's messages, speeches and testimony before congressional committees between his V-E Day Proclamation and his final report as Chief of Staff on February 7, 1948. They give at least some idea of the quality of mind which, together with his singularly engaging personality, has made Dwight D. Eisenhower so attractive a presidential candidate to so many worried and confused Americans.

They reveal him as obviously no great original thinker, and certainly no revolutionary. But they also show him as a friendly, open-hearted and open-minded man, with considerable tolerance and breadth of vision and with a great capacity for making divergent types of people work together and get along together. They explain not only why Eisenhower is so popular among Americans but why the Russians apparently have more respect for him than for any other American they have dealt with since Franklin D. Roosevelt. They also reveal him as less military-minded than a startling number of civilian Americans, many of them currently in high office.

It is true, however, that a careful reading of *Eisenhower Speaks* leaves the General's political and social philosophy vague and his opinion on various important issues still handsomely clouded in obscurity. While many of his speeches show him an enlightened and understanding liberal, there are passages which may strike one less happily. Since the addresses were delivered on all sorts of occasions before all sorts of organizations, from the CIO to the American Legion, they understandably contain their share of oratorical double-talk. It is encouraging to hear him say that, despite his advocacy of Selective Service, he does not favor it as a "peacetime policy"—at least that was his feeling on June 9, 1946—but he does show signs of being upon occasion strangely romantic about the military mind. It is assuredly going a little too far to say that "there is no greater pacifist than the regular officer." There is no doubt that Eisenhower is speaking the truth when he speaks of his own attitude toward war, but there are certainly more exceptions than he wishes to admit.

In answering Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas, who asked him about the aid that might be given dictatorial governments in South America by the US plan for the standardization of armaments in the Americas, the General is again given to something

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suspiciously like double-talk. It must be realized, however, that he was speaking officially as Chief of Staff—not a good spot to take a stand against Latin dictators. Finally, it is disconcerting to find Eisenhower, who has a way of getting vaguely rhapsodic about "free enterprise," muttering suspiciously about the "impingement of socialism of some kind." But, if his ideas are still shadowed in doubt, Eisenhower remains an exceedingly attractive public figure and the most encouraging newcomer—almost the only encouraging newcomer—in American leadership. RICHARD WATTS JR.

FICTION PARADE

THE NAKED AND THE DEAD, by Norman Mailer (Rinehart and Company, Inc.; $4).

THE BLACK LAUREL, by Storm Jameson (The Macmillan Company; $3).

THERE IS EVERY REASON to want to think highly of *The Naked and the Dead*. It is a first novel, and its young author, Norman Mailer, has given evidence of earnest and tremendous industry in compiling its 700-odd pages. As the story of the American invasion of an island in the Pacific, or more precisely, "the story of the men themselves," it is essentially a static account of their past histories and their suspended present.

For the most part, the novel is a transcription of their talk, lusterless griping and ironed-out obscenities, too detailed and monotonous to have been imaginatively conceived for any larger purpose, but too exact and literal to have been merely guessed at. It is like a sheaf of posthumous letters home, which we read as intruders of privacy. This naturally lays a constraint on our response, unless we're in the habit of being flippant at a memorial service.

Like every "war novelist," Mailer's book comes in for flattering publicity comparisons to the early novels of Dos Passos, Hemingway, etc. Actually, in so far as Mailer derives from these standard authors, it is by way of journalism—the documentary, shorthand, tough-guy manner, with a soft, runny heart in the center.

This doesn't mean to deny Mailer his achievement. If he has a taste for transcribing banalities, he also has a talent for it. He arranges his material so that the 700 pages are surprisingly readable. At the same time, if there's one thing about war which this novel establishes, it's the boredom of it.

Occupied Germany is the setting for Storm Jameson's *The Black Laurel,* but she has gone back beyond the "lost generation" for *her* precedents and has settled down closer to Anthony Hope. There is no point, while reading this book, in keeping Germany in mind, or in referring to the fact or the problems of the occupation. The situation is merely the occasion for a yarn, a romance, and Germany is described as a mythical kingdom where lurid adventure is probable.

There is evidence that Miss Jameson seriously intends this morass of cynicism, idealism, neuroticism and skulduggery as a study of the contemporary situation; and on her side, of course, is the necessity for her readers to admit that the situation may well be even more fantastic than she describes. But there is stronger evidence that she is relying on the probability of the improbable to lend conviction to a tale made up "out of her head."

The characters don't inhabit the locale with any certainty, and their motivation is too frequently based on near-insane impulses that are stated but not demonstrated. And it doesn't add much force to this arbitrary behavior to claim, as the author does, that "any man can do anything." The best account of them is provided by Miss Jameson herself in the usual disavowal at the beginning of the volume: "None of the characters in this book is a real person living or dead."

For another thing, the well-bred understatement of the prose denies any possible connection with the subject. Characteristic is the meaningless backtracking of the following: "He has always known, yes, known, that the only serious difficulty in handling a man, any man, is to guess. . . ." Or: "What does one know, yes, know, at seventeen?" Yes, no. JOHN FARRELLY

THE NEW HERO

THE CASE FOR DE GAULLE: A Dialogue between André Malraux and James Burnham (Random House; $1.50).

FEW READERS will be surprised to learn that the basis of the case for de Gaulle is the General's conviction that communism must be suppressed wherever possible, by whatever means possible. Yet it is significant that it is this aspect which is stressed by both the American political analyst, James Burnham, author of *The Managerial Revolution,* and de Gaulle's Director of Information, André Malraux, author of *Man's Hope,* in the dialogue which Burnham traveled all the way to Paris to hold.

The core of their attacks on France's Third Force, now in power, is that group's belief that it is legitimate for communism to exist as one of the political movements within the framework of a democratic state. Readers who hold with Léon Blum that the suppression of communism is "incompatible with the principles of democracy," are not likely to be impressed by the arguments for Gaullism advanced here. Those who agree with the Gaullists' basic premise may still be perturbed by some of the statements put forth in its defense.

"We have maintained from the beginning," declares Malraux, " 'We have no faith in programs but only in objectives. Let us define our objectives one after another, reach them as fast as possible, and then go on to what follows'." If the words "means" and "ends" are substituted for "programs" and "objectives," Gaullism's methods then come uncomfortably close to those of its deadly enemy.

The primary objective of Gaullism, as given by Malraux, is "the restoration of a structure and vigor to France," but this is defined no further. He credits to the Gaullists the restoration of a free and secret ballot in the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the elimination of Communists from the government and the unification of the country around the idea of public welfare. But, again, he

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does not explain how these ends were achieved. To the many people who deny that it was the Gaullists who were responsible for the reforms, he merely replies: "We answer that they were put through only because we were there; and little would be left of them if we were to disappear." In the same way, he recognizes and denies the reports that Gaullism is a reactionary movement, but fails to produce sufficient evidence to lay the ghost.

The facts of Gaullism are here accepted as known, and the authors concern themselves with the philosophical implications. Thus Malraux does not directly refer to the General's program for a strong executive government with a weakened legislative body, but he nevertheless elucidates it when he describes "the intense polarization of political convictions . . . and power" in the world today which makes "decisiveness and not a talent for trading the first political virtue."

Gaullism emerges from this book as what it appeared to be before: a nationalist, authoritarian, anti-Communist movement. "We had believed," says Malraux, "that in becoming less French a man became more human. Now we know he simply becomes more Russian." Again, in discussing a possible European federation—based on the assumption of an irrevocably split world—Malraux declares: "The states of Europe will never enter into . . . [any federation] except in so far as it affords a means of maintaining their rights. France, in particular, will not accept on any other basis."

Burnham, who leads the dialogue throughout, does not reveal any startlingly different point of view from that expressed in his previous writings. In Malraux's words, however, there is a clue to the challenging enigma of why he has allied himself with de-Gaulle. In a general passage on the cultural meaning of Gaullism he defines "a new human type: the liberal hero," which he feels is slowly emerging—a man of action with a profound belief in human destiny. "I am not saying," he continues, "that Gaullism proclaims or even defends what I have just said; but I believe that it is only among the Gaullists that there can develop the human attitude of which the liberal hero would be the symbol."

That hero is immediately recognizable to anyone who has read Malraux. Why he thinks he has found its realization in Gaullism is still not clear, beyond the fact that Gaullism is a positive movement that opposes the communism with which Malraux became disillusioned. It must suffice that, for the moment, he believes he has found it. ANNE L. GOODMAN

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Rendezvous in Black, by Cornell Woolrich (Rinehart; $2). An empty whiskey bottle, tossed from an airplane and causing a tragic death, sets in train a series of horrible reprisals. Highest marks for a gripping, intelligent and beautifully plotted job.

Night Cry, by William L. Stuart (Dial; $2.50). While investigating a murder, Detective Lieutenant Mark Deglin, the New York force's smartest operator, accidentally kills a suspect. Deglin's necessary metamorphosis from hound to hare provides an unusual, often ugly and always absorbing tale to chill the midnight hours.

Sin of Angels, by Anna Mary Wells (Simon and Schuster; $2). When Millicent French, the famous British actress, breaks down in her New York première, psychiatrist Dr. Hillis Owen is called in. The next night an unknown woman is murdered in the actress' dressing room. Dr. Owen's successful unraveling of some mighty tangled threads furnishes passable entertainment.

Relative to Poison, by E. C. R. Lorac (Crime Club; $2). Young girls who are picked up in tea rooms and straightway hired by charming older women generally meet a fate worse than death. The present case is exceptional in that Susan brings a level-headed friend as co-worker on the new job, and when murder almost immediately occurs, they have the help of the CID's Inspector Macdonald. Good fun and good hunting. R. H.

RADIO—TELEVISION

In Conference

COLUMBUS, OHIO

THE BROADCASTING INDUSTRY has outsmarted itself again. It's becoming a habit, but it is all to the good. This failure of the public-relations sense often works to the listener's benefit.

This time, the industry tried a little game with the Institute for Education by Radio. Often, in the 18 years of this annual spring talk festival at Columbus, the big broadcasters have chafed. People who run non-profit, educational radio have insisted on reminding their richer relatives of certain obligations they owe in common to the public. Educators, religious and civic do-gooders, representatives of listener councils and other chronic kibitzers behind the industry's table have participated in the needling. The network chiefs, and their shadows in the National Association of Broadcasters, knew that the same crowd of critics would be at Columbus this year, so they stayed away.

The NAB sent no one in authority. The networks sent only second-string executives. Even the trade press was persuaded to participate in the boycott. But the maneuver didn't work.

Most of the subalterns were chosen not only because they have little policy-setting authority, but also for their individual affinity for the very detractors they were supposed to squelch. The networks calculated that the noncom would put the commander's best foot forward, yet could not commit him. As it worked out, though he faithfully avoided promising reforms, he gave aid to "the enemy" by his very presence. Those of us interested in greater radio public service saw clearly that we have sincere and effective friends in the industry. That's not what the network bigwigs back home had set out to prove.

It would not be fair to name names, because many of these people have in-

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dividual careers to protect. Some, no doubt, will protect them only too well, but I believe that a number of the others feel like the vice-president-to-be who talked his heart out at three a.m. We were engaged in the traditional convention sport (with his network paying for the Scotch) when he said:

"If these educators and their buddies ever stop sounding off, we're all sunk. I can always get a budget cut restored, at least in part, by citing chapter and verse from the gospel according to the Institute for Education by Radio. Once in a while, I can get peak time for a real public-service show by telling the boss that it's worth it to keep the 'long-hairs' quiet. But if he knows they'll keep quiet anyway . . ."

Don't get the impression that all of the network representatives are that sincerely concerned for their chiefs' souls (nor, even, that all the chiefs are soulless). The others were here, too, particularly from the television camp. Television played a minor, but forceful role, with everybody worried about how much "public service" it would offer, or could afford.

Everything about television—except the extent of its coverage for some years to come—is colossal. A broadcaster who could go into radio for $100,000 would need at least five times that much to touch the visual side of the job. Equipment costs are altogether out of line when judged by normal broadcasting standards. Production costs are also comparatively enormous. A show that could be put on the radio with, say, five people, needs a crew of 17 for television.

Organizations like the Red Cross, the YMCA, and other national groups accustomed to free radio time and facilities, wondered what would happen to them on television. Some of the video men had no doubt. "Buy the time," said one. "Television is too expensive to give away." "Get yourself a sponsor," said another. It is interesting to speculate on the effectiveness of a Red Cross drive under the sponsorship of a bandage manufacturer.

The next question was: If that's the way television will treat the big, "non-controversial" organizations, how will it handle labor groups, and racial, religious or political minorities?

The answer is that television executives who talk that way are talking through their hats. One admitted as much when he was reminded that the television broadcaster, like the radio licensee, holds his permit in the "public interest, convenience and necessity." If everything about television costs more, the returns will be greater. Why else are the televisers making those huge investments? But they need to be reminded that their overhead must include public service, even if it is more expensive. RCA isn't selling image orthicon cameras at a discount. Why should the public take a cut?

However, radio still dominated the conference as it still plays the most important role on the air. The non-profit, educational broadcasters, particularly, impressed this reporter as a dynamic group. They perform a double function: they keep non-commercial radio alive and they act as guinea pigs for commercial radio. Educational broadcasting has started to grow again. There was a time when the non-profit end of the industry could have dominated the air. Even as late in commercial radio's history as 1936, there were 138 educational broadcasting stations. The number is now 71, but these outlets, through the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, form a powerful pressure group that is not letting itself be swamped.

All in all, I came away again hopeful for broadcasting. I did my share of needling in three scheduled appearances and several others at random. But I confess that not all my barbs were directed at the industry. For instance, in diagnosing the condition of broadcasting, at the annual dinner, I said (it is, unhappily, a point that still has to be made) that "fundamentally there is nothing wrong with radio that the people of America cannot cure." Is that being over-optimistic? Sometimes, in the midst of the great silence, I wonder.

SAUL CARSON

THEATER: For Fun

SINCE "The Play's the Thing" and "Inside U.S.A." are both designed to amuse, they must be judged as entertainment. On a laugh gauge, I believe the record would indicate that in quality and volume of laughter, the former had, in my case, outdistanced the latter.

I find this a little paradoxical because I can list more objections to the production of "The Play's the Thing" than to that of "Inside U.S.A." The set for the Molnar comedy struck me as notably ugly. It took me at least fifteen minutes to get inured to it. Imported from England—for economic rather than decorative reasons, I am sure—it is a relic from the theater of 1914. Even more detrimental to the fun is the style in which the company performs.

"The Play's the Thing" is done as if Molnar were an Englishman. The essence of English smart comedy is its combination of verbal distinction with intellectual impertinence, while Molnar's comedy is the distillation of a shrewdness of experience. English comedy seems to issue from the lips and the head; Continental comedy—

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particularly Hungarian—from the viscera and points below. *Schmaltz* is what the English don't have, and *schmaltz*—refined by wit—is indispensable to Molnar. Actors in "The Play's the Thing" should not conduct themselves as if they were impersonating epigrammatic butlers out of a piece by Noel Coward.

In itself the company that is performing the Molnar tidbit at the Booth is not at all bad. Louis Calhern is best in the third-act rehearsal scene and Arthur Margetson, as the actor sweating over the pronunciation of multi-ylindered French names, is excellent. They make the play at this point convulsively funny. "The Play's the Thing" survives because it has the mischievous hedonism, the appetite for civilized indulgence and juicy theater that are characteristic of all the anecdotes told about Molnar.

Despite a dearth of good tunes, a fault common to most of the postwar revues, the Howard Dietz-Arthur Schwartz "Inside U.S.A." at the Century is a thoroughly efficient entertainment. The show moves briskly, it looks rich, it has no unbearably dull spots, it employs the services of attractive and talented people.

Who can fail to admire Beatrice Lillie? Her comedy is a revolt against form, convention, manners, by a lady whose every physical attribute and gesture is elegant. She can play the disjointed clown superbly because she is all precision and subtle balance. She can speak sloppy lines because they acquire a new decorum in her delivery. Finally, there is something about her faintly decorative in the manner of certain modern *objets d'art*: she is dry, cool, clear, wickedly impersonal—as though a thermometer were to wink when it registered a fever.

Worth special remark too is Eric Victor, whose insinuating eccentric dance is at once fluent and forceful. Valerie Bettis carries out Tamaris' typically energetic dance patterns with a particular mixture of exuberance and an almost neurotic will-to-violence. Miss Bettis' dancing is like a powerful sex impulse that, though released, never-

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theless remains unfulfilled. Herb Shriner's monologue is a shy patter—as if a Hoosier boy had many refreshingly "subversive" things to say but had thought better of it. "Forty Winks" is a swift parody on the tendency of our functional civilization to produce useless gadgets—in this instance, a series of aids to sleep that keep one awake. "We Won't Take It Back" provides Jack Haley and Bea Lillie with a song routine full of topical allusions and café ribaldry in the vein of successful popular showmanship. And there is a redhead in the chorus who is a reminder of a better day when show girls couldn't sing or dance but looked gratifyingly stagy.

All this makes "Inside U.S.A." a hit. Yet I found it deficient in an element that "The Play's the Thing" possesses. It has no personality. "The Ziegfeld Follies" had it; so did the "Grand Street Follies," the "Garrick Gaieties," "Charlot's Revue," the "Little Show," "The Bandwagon," "Pins and Needles," even "Call Me Mister." These shows had personality because a dominant mood—both in the people who made them and in their audiences—called for expression. The mood may have been one of luxury, frivolity, sentimentality, snobbism, fashionable eroticism or boisterous proletarianism. No matter: each produced a revue with a distinct character.

Our audiences today are prosperous and frightened, eager for relief through entertainment but uncertain of the prescription for that relief. Such an audience and simple sensuous glamor are incompatible. It is also too confused and intimidated an audience for strong political satire; it is neither corrupt enough nor sure enough of itself to accept straight smut or out-and-out cynicism. It is a worried and impatient audience, so what it finally demands is hard-driving, expert stagecraft without sufficient emphasis on one particular quality to make it much of anything. Such entertainment consequently must lack not only personality but what is almost the same thing—melody.

HAROLD CLURMAN

MOVIES: Love Under Fire

THE TITLE OF "Homecoming" is appropriate probably beyond the intentions of M-G-M. Clark Gable has come home to the housewives of America, and everything is just the way it always used to be. The hero is no longer young, but then neither are his matinee wives. It is an uncomfortable experience to sit, almost the only man, in a theater filled with Gable's girl friends—the building seems to pant.

Except for Gable's strong magnetic field, there is nothing arresting about "Homecoming." A surgeon whose large and almost exclusively feminine practice leaves no time for him to worry about the health of his slum neighbors, goes off stylishly to war. There on the battlefield he encounters Lana Turner, who has added an active social conscience to her more celebrated attractions.

She teaches him that a great doctor must have a great soul, and she almost teaches him that the marriage he contracted back home wasn't quite the final decision the clergy would have us think it. Love steals upon the unwitting Gable like an assassin in the night, but for a footpad it announces its intentions with unusual candor. The affair begins with a quarrel; it is abetted by a midnight cup of coffee; it moves in for the kill at a secluded Roman bath; and it is consummated (I guess) in a ruined barn amid the roar of the Battle of the Bulge.

Miss Turner is then removed from the formula by a shell fragment—solution that seems to comfort everyone, including the wife (Anne Baxter), who has yet to learn the bitter lesson that the only really invincible rival is the dead one.

Progress in Hollywood is slow, an

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it is useful occasionally to have a stationary landmark like "Homecoming" on the horizon to prove to us that we are really moving along.

The French "Not Guilty" is a superior time waster, with no mystery but a credible psychology and a good ironic twist. Michel Simon does the killing skillfully and for the most part offstage.

On the other hand, "The Damned" is an extraordinarily heavy melodrama to come from French hands. It concerns a group of psychopathic Nazi leaders who attempt to escape to South America by U-boat. The atmosphere is opaque with villainy and the loss of life is more numbing than effective. The German army officer bears a striking resemblance to Field Marshal Montgomery and the French traitor could pass as Georges Bidault; this must be obscure Gallic humor, for it seems impossible that the likenesses could have escaped the director.

J. Arthur Rank's "Dear Murderer" almost succeeds in maintaining the view that among polite people murder is no more than an amusing embarrassment. In the end, though, the picture falls off into gloomy retribution, not from any high moral principle, but from a sudden lack of invention. It takes an unusual imagination to devise a gay conclusion for a homicide. . . . "The Woman in White," also British, moves so slowly that it is in constant danger of toppling over. There is still lots of life in the old Wilkie Collins thriller and it's too bad the English decided to smother it to death.

ROBERT HATCH

CORRESPONDENCE

Safe At Last

SIR: *New Republic* readers will be interested to know that the six youthful refugee Spaniards whose unpredictable plight had been described in the *NR* (January 12) have safely disembarked in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela.

The young Republicans had stowed away aboard the liberty ship *Arthur P. Fairfield* from Le Havre, France, last September expecting to pile off in Venezuela. They received quite a jolt when they wound up in Coos Bay, Oregon. Lacking sufficient social or political influence, according to present Washington standards, to remain in the US, the boys had been ordered deported. Through the efforts of various West Coast maritime unions and other interested parties, emergency Venezuelan visas were successfully obtained for them and after five months' incarceration they were shipped aboard the Moore McCormack Lines ship *Clearwater Victory* at Long Beach, California, on March 29.

"Young Republicans" is not a misnomer. One of the oldest youths is 25. Although only eight when the Republic was founded, he had fought two years as a combat infantryman in the Republican army. At the time of the termination of hostilities in 1939 he was a 16-year-old sergeant. . . . Looking more like members of a high-school baseball team than the dangerous Bolshevik spies certain misinformed or malicious elements had accused them of being, they scrambled ashore in good spirits. Each one has a check for $175 representing the money collected for them in excess of their steamship fare.

They are just six more members of the great international legion of homeless Spaniards who together with the Jews wander about the face of the Earth looking only for a place to stay and a chance to live in peace.

JAIME P. B. NORRIS, Third Officer, *SS Clearwater Victory*
Puerto Cabello, Venezuela

Where Eisenhower Stands

SIR: In their desperation, liberal groups like the CIO and the Americans for Democratic Action are reported to be turning to Eisenhower as a presidential candidate. . . .

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ings on April 2, he endorsed Baruch's program of industrial mobilization, with all that means in the way of regimentation of labor. He also endorsed the principle of racial segregation in the armed forces.

In order to justify this he said: "In general, the Negro is less well educated than his brother citizen that is white. And if you make a complete amalgamation . . . the Negro is going to be relegated to the minor jobs and is never going to get his promotion to technical sergeant and master sergeant and so on because the competition is too tough."

The General indicated that he felt a Negro "can improve his standing and his social standing and his respect for certain of the standards that we observe," but at no point in his testimony did he mention that Negroes who enlist in the Army must pass the same test as do whites.

General Eisenhower might also have stated that better-educated Negroes might enlist in the Army if they did not have to submit to segregation.

Furthermore, General Eisenhower represents a militaristic and a nationalistic emphasis which liberals ought not to support. On April 2 he said: "I believe in one thing only, this United States is the greatest force and the greatest power for good in the world, and we have to be strong enough to extend its influence where it needs to go to protect ourselves."

If the CIO and the ADA persist in supporting Eisenhower they may well find themselves responsible for encouraging forces of reaction over which they would have no control if a man like Eisenhower really became President. There is no excuse for promoting a candidate simply because he could win.

JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.
Director, National Council
Against Conscription
Washington, D. C.

BANDWAGON

Silver Lining

If the international situation had not taken a turn for the worse this spring, we would be inclined to take a serious view for the business outlook. . . . —*From the* Journal of Commerce.

Oh, Yeah?

As a matter of plain common sense, organized labor should recall that no

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corporation, which of course includes the big manufacturers, has been permitted for many years to contribute to a political campaign. The corporation officials would suffer dire consequences if they contributed a dime from the corporation's treasury to influence legislation. – *From the Macon, Georgia,* Telegraph.

Blessed Be . . .

We'll beat them all on the head if necessary. I intend to maintain peace. – *Detective Captain Eli Dahlin, in charge of the police at the Cudahy Packing Company strike, as quoted in* PM.

Largesse

Despite the fact that the number of the state's old-age beneficiaries has risen, the average monthly allotment to this class of recipients has risen correspondingly to an all-time high of $18.25 monthly. – *From the Albany, Georgia,* Herald.

Dog's Worst Friend

Sometimes, says Dr. L. C. Moss of Fort Collins, Colorado, dogs become mentally ill from associating with people. – *AP dispatch from Atlanta, Georgia.*

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Delores Del Rio, the idol of Mexico, returned to Mexico City from six months in Buenos Aires, where she made a Spanish version of "Lady Windermere's Fan." She says Argentina is beautiful, progressive, civilized and rich. President and Mme. Peron gave a dinner for her. – *From Hedda Hopper's syndicated column.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

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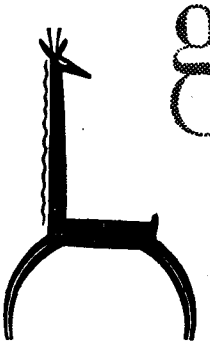
green mansions



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